This book is devoted to a study of one of the religions of India. The book deals with the ethnographical and historical roots of Jainism, its development from the time of its origin to the present day. The philosophical principles and also the literature and art of the Jains are described in this book.

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JAINISM

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PREFACE

I WOULD not like to tell beforehand about the contents of my work. It will be clear to the reader from the book itself. I wish only to explain in brief what prompted me to choose the theme of this modest research viz. "Jainism".

I think that ancient religions, as also the ancient social institutions of India—customs, caste order, family-marriage relations etc. serve as a sort of a storeroom, in which what has been lost by people's memory and what has not been preserved even in literary works is conserved for many centuries.

The modern life (of the country) is changing so swiftly that probably it will soon be impossible to find many footprints of history. These footprints are still borne by the land of India in our times, despite changes.

The social-philosophical and religious views of people, normal law, ethical norms and traditions are changing in India, adjusting themselves to the demands and turns of the new life, new social structure.

In our times, India is experiencing an intensive break-up of all that did not change in the course of many centuries. This being so, the researcher intending to see the footprints of history must hurry. I think the researcher in these conditions must not only fix these footprints as an observer—although this is a perfectly necessary part of his work—but he must attempt to connect the past with our times. He must endeavour to trace those new paths, on which these steps are marked. Without this, it is impossible to understand why, India did not break up in the course of such a long time and also to explain to oneself its modern direction.

The life of Indian society as a whole, the life of every town and village, and also of every caste and family individually, is such an inexhaustible treasure-house of knowledge for those

who are engaged in social anthropology, that only one human existence is not enough to get acquainted even approximately with the contents of this treasure-house. Thousands of scholars must conduct thorough and painstaking work on the study of the old which is quickly passing away and the new which is marching ahead, on the study of the problems of their combinations and mutual influences in all the spheres of culture.

It is gratifying to realise that scholars of modern India are making a great contribution to this tremendous work and that their colleagues from other countries are also ably participating in it.

If the readers of this small book receive it as even a drop in this ocean of necessary research, then this would bring me deep satisfaction.

One final word, this book was essentially intended to acquaint the Soviet readers with the complex ethno-cultural background of India and to whet their interest in the rich and varied historical experience of the Indian people.

The work I have done has the sole aim of unravelling the historical process as it was, uninfluenced by political controversies of modern times. I have invented nothing but have striven to generalise as objectively as possible the evidence of records, monuments, folklore etc. available to the historical research worker such as I am.

I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to the translator and the publishers of my book and also to all Indian friends, who helped me by their valuable advice and suggestions during the preparation of my work.

(MRS.) N. R. GUSEVA

15 December 1970

INTRODUCTION TO THE INDIAN EDITION

THE study of Jainism, one of the ancient Indian religions, whose adherents constitute 0.5 per cent of the population of contemporary India, is very slender. During the last 100-150 years, thousands of works have been written about other religions in India, such as Hinduism or Buddhism, but not more than several hundreds are devoted to Jainism. Besides, most of these are written in Indian languages and represent, as a rule, narration of works of Jain literature or commentaries on it.

This religion received comparatively little attention from a majority of historians and specialists on Indian culture, even though it preserves within itself exceedingly interesting testimony of ethnographical and socio-historical processes, in ancient India.

The illustrious Russian scholar and Indologist I. P. Minayev devoting one of his works to Jainism observed that this religion was not studied intensively and that there was no material on it in European libraries and collections.*

The present book does not claim to be an all-sided description of Jainism. That would require an extensive monograph. The writer here attempts to give a brief outline of this religion and to communicate certain views to the readers, not expressed, as far as is known to her, in the works of other scholars.

In the distant past, in the middle of the first millennium B.C., Jainism had spread in India more widely than Buddhism and it took shape as religious-ethical teachings three centuries earlier than Buddhism. With the passing of time, it became known beyond the borders of its own homeland—Bihar—and found a great number of adherents in South and West India.

While undergoing several historical transformations and adopting themselves to new conditions of life of the Indian

* I. P. Minayev, *Information About Jains and Buddhists*. For detailed description of the literature, made use of, see the Bibliography appended at the end of the book.

society, the Jains did not change their faith and customs, to any great extent. Their community is preserved to the present day, while Buddhism practically ceased to exist in India, in the tenth century A.D.

At the present time, the Jains, even though comparatively small in numbers (2.03 million according to 1961 census) play a noticeable role in the socio-political life of the country and belong in their main mass to the middle and great bourgeoise.

The writer has set before herself the task of revealing the historical and ethnographic roots of Jainism. The study aims at tracing the history of development of the Jain community, describing its internal structure and customs, and evaluating the contribution, which the Jains made to literature and art of India. Finally, it will also offer to the readers an assessment of the contemporary position of this community and of the new ideological shades in Jainism.

In the present book the history of the rise of Jainism is viewed in direct relation to those ethnographical and socio-historical processes, which took place in ancient India, at the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium B.C. That was the epoch of the settlement of the alien Aryan tribes on the soil of North India and also the epoch of the formation of class relations in the environments of these regions.

Marching forward from the North-west to the South and the East, the Aryans settled on the plains of the Ganges and Jamuna. Their relations with the local peoples were complex and many-sided. Individual local tribes or parts of big ethnographical masses were annihilated or exterminated from their own soil. The Aryans effected military alliances and established trade-barter relations with others. Several local tribes were gradually drawn in the economic-cultural life of the Aryans and lost their own ethnographical originality. The Aryans themselves were subjected to assimilation by the local peoples, and they adopted gradually many elements of their material and spiritual culture. In as much as the Aryans penetrated in India, at different periods, the subsequent groups of Aryan newcomers carried on battles of annihilation with the former Aryan settlers in the same way as with the local tribes.

In the concrete historical conditions of India, a country with a variegated and ethnically multiform composition of

population, class relations in the Aryan society took shape simultaneously with the process of class and caste formation. The process of caste-class division of society, rise of high and low castes, naturally found reflection in the ideology.

With the arrival of greater and greater numbers of Aryans in North-west India, the sphere of Aryan colonisation increased and the process of assimilation by the Aryans, of the local population, in whose environment class relations had not as yet formed, assumed more violent character. The expansion of Aryans could not but call forth resistance of pre-Aryan (i.e. settling in India before the intrusion of Aryan tribes) peoples. In our opinion this resistance to a significant degree expressed itself in new faiths, arising on the borders of 'vedic' (i.e. post-Aryan) world, such as Jainism, Buddhism, Bhagvatism, etc.

The rise of Jainism is viewed in this book precisely from this aspect.

Special place in this work is given to the question as to why scholars often call these religions, or reformatory faiths, 'Kshatriya', connecting their origin and development with the activity and historical role of the Kshatriyas, the material caste of ancient India. The writer of this book attempts to show, how in the epoch of the formation of class relations, the Kshatriya caste took shape in Aryan and non-Aryan society of India and how the struggle of Kshatriyas with Brahmins—the priestly class facilitated the rise and growth of reformatory faiths.

Jainism, along with other new religions of that epoch took shape as an independent system, mainly on the basis of cult and ethical beliefs, existing in the environments of non-Aryan peoples. It is possible that it partially adopted elements of religious beliefs or religious-cult practices, which were known to the pre-Aryan population of Harappa and other cities of the Indus Valley civilisation and later also adopted elements of those cults, which had spread amongst local peoples, who had settled in the Gangetic valley. The process of formation of Jainism is viewed precisely from this aspect. It is suggested that several philosophic and cult-beliefs of the Aryans also formed its part. These were introduced by the first Aryan newcomers, who had penetrated on the eastern Gangetic soil, earlier than others.

The chapters devoted to the customs of the Jains and to

the contemporary conditions of life of their community are written on the basis of literary sources and also on the basis of the material collected by the writer in her two years' stay in India.

Madam Guseva has published the following books: "India, Millenia and Contemporaneity", "India's Many Faces", "Mahabharata", "Ramayana" (a play). She is now working on a monograph on "Modern Hinduism".

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF REFORMATORY OR 'KSHATRIYA' DOGMAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

A WHOLE series of questions at once present themselves before a research scholar, who attempts to penetrate into the source of the history of Jainism. As it is, it is possible to give only approximate answers to a majority of these questions. When and where arose this religion? In which environment was it born? Which were the historical reasons, giving birth to and ensuring its expansion in ancient India? Does it constitute a sect, a branch of Brahmanism or Buddhism? Which is more ancient? Buddhism or Jainism? And in the end why Jainism has survived in India to our days, while Buddhism practically ceased to exist in this country as a historically significant religion towards the end of the first millennium A.D.?

Many scholars consider or agree that Jainism constituted a reformatory movement in Brahmanism and that it is organically connected with it, as a sect happens to be connected with the religion giving birth to it. Thus, the Indian scholar B. N. Luniya[1] writes that sixth century B.C. was the time of great ferment of minds in the whole world and that in India at this time Hindus disappointed with the old philosophic dogmas stood for simplicity of worship, but that Jainism and Buddhism all the same were not new faiths.

It is difficult to accept 'disappointment of the Hindus' as a historical reason for the rise of new religions in the first millennium B.C. And it is necessary to connect the appearance of new dogmas, or rather, those dogmas which were flourishing in this epoch with Aryans, i.e. with the Brahmanic society?

In order to be able to arrive at a decision on whether to agree

1. B. N. Luniya, *Evolution of Indian Culture.*

or disagree with the belief that Jainism was born out of Brahmanism (or vedic religion) one should try to imagine the ethnical picture of ancient India, one should try to understand how ancient Aryans settled in India and how the mutual relations between Aryans and the non-Aryan peoples developed.

The viewpoint, much prevalent in ethnography viz. that the Vedas, the first literary work of Indo-Aryan tribes, known to us (in any case, Rigveda, which is considered as the most ancient of the Vedas) took shape mainly on the territory of Punjab.

It is also recognised, as a rule, that the very first wave of the Aryan settlers were the creators of the Vedas, after which other waves followed. The epoch of creation of the Vedas consists of a long duration viz. the period between the third and first millennium B.C. The Indian patriot and historian Bal Gangadhar Tilak carries it as far back as ten to fifteen centuries earlier in the depths of history,[2] while some other (much later) historians consider that the Vedas were formed during the very end of the second and first half of the first millennium B.C. There exist so many viewpoints in regard to the question of the exact time of the settlement of the Aryans and the creation of the Vedas, that it is not possible to enumerate all of them here and moreover, it is not necessary to do so. What is important is the general conclusion to which all the historians have come viz. the process of accumulation of Vedic hymns was gradual and partly proceeded in the course of many centuries until the arrival of Aryans in India,[3] when they roamed from place to place around the lands, lying to its north west.

The material of the Vedas enables us to trace the process of class-caste stratification of the ancient Aryan society, already originating on the Indian soil and the formation of the caste of priests (Brahmanas) who were the hosts of rituals and monopolised the knowledge of vedic mantras (hymns). The development of that religion and that cult-ritual complex which is known as Brahmanism started precisely from this moment.

The conception of "Brahmanism" includes first of all the dictates of Brahmins in the sphere of ideology. While Vedic

2. B. G. Tilak, *The Arctic Home of the Vedas.*
3. L. Renou, *Vedic India,* p. 5.

hymns reflect a pattern of social relation in which the head of the family is invested with the right of performing sacrifices and turning to God with his entreaties now, in the period of Brahminism all religious functions were concentrated gradually in the hands of the Brahmins.

If for example, as S. A. Dange considers, the word Brahmin signified the very commune of Aryans in the period of collective means of production,[4] then later, when Brahmanism arose, which by right can be called the first religion of class society of the Aryans, the word 'Brahmin' came to signify priest (the Brahmin), worldly spirit, prayer and then also books (Brahmanas), which were commentaries on Vedas, i.e. everything which was connected only with the religious thinking and ritual functions, performed by members of the Brahmin caste. All the written sources and oral traditions preserve the testimony (evidence) of enmity of the Brahmins with the Kshatriyas, and the conception of the reformatory dogmas is usually connected with the Kshatriyas (in particular, Jainism is named gradually as 'Kshatriyas religion'). Despite this, the word Kshatriyas is understood to mean the martial caste of Indian class society. Here it is appropriate to pose the question: Did the word 'Kshatriya' always have only that meaning?

The elucidation of the history of this word enables to introduce greater clarity into the picture of enmical relations between the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins and thence, into the picture of the formation of reformatory religions, including Jainism.

It is known from many historical sources and researches that the so-called republics—Janapadas or Ganas, in which the management was in the hands of groups of persons called Kshatriyas existed in India in the first half of the first millennium B.C. The number of such Kshatriyas could reach several thousands and this indicates the probability that all the heads of the Kshatriya families, in point of fact, were the collective head of such republic. It can be taken for granted that these were the representatives of the martial aristocracy.

Which were the preceding historical steps leading to the formation of this group of Kshatriya-warriors, Kshatriya-rulers? Were all the persons called Kshatriyas, members of the martial

4. S. A. Dange, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*.

caste? Had all the Janapadas, without fail, the clearly expressed class-caste groups, one of which might have been called the caste of Kshatriya?

While attempting to answer these questions, it is worthwhile to return to the etymology of the word "Kshatri" or more correctly 'Khastriya'.

Two suggestions, one flowing from the other can serve as an answer, which is precisely this: the word 'Kshatri' from which the word Kshatriya was formed later, signifies in Sanskrit, 'killer', 'cutter', 'distributor', from the stem *kshad*—to kill, to carve meat, to divide, to distribute food and also sometimes, to give shelter. Kshatri also means charioteer, driver of the harness. The word 'Kshatra' signifies strength, might, power, domination.[5]

Is it not proper to conclude from this that the head of each commune-family group was known sometime by the name of Kshatri? It is possible that this designation already existed during the stage of hunting economy; amongst the shepherds' patriarchal tribes, those males of the tribe who headed the family-kin (tribal) groups were precisely called Kshatri. House slaves also were a component part of these groups in the period of family-patriarchal slavery.

It is also possible that not only the heads of these groups but all the males of the tribes in general, each of whom can potentially head the family-kin group were called Kshatri.

This means, that this designation could exist (and most likely, did exist) in the pre-caste, pre-class society of the Aryans, long before their appearance in India.

Probably all these Kshatri were not always and necessarily converted into members of the Kshatriya-soldier caste, in the process of the subsequent historical development of the Aryan society.

Growth of the settled way of life, development of agriculture and trade, division of trades—all this required specialisation of economic activity and at this stage, from the pre-Vedic Kshatri not only the warrior-caste was formed but also other groups of population, out of which later, in the developed

5. M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 325; V. S. Apte, *The Students Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 170.

class society, castes of Kshatriya-traders, Kshatriya-farmers, Kshatriya-handicraftsmen etc. were also formed. These castes came to be considered as 'degraded' soldiers and 'degraded' high castes, but all this apparently is not the most likely explanation.

If the point of view, prevalent in ethnography, viz. that the Khetti people received their name from the word kshatri-khatti,[6] from one of the branches of the Aryan tribes who had penetrated into Asia-Minor, is correct, then this may serve as direct affirmation of the suggestion stated above, viz. the males amongst the Aryan tribes were called by this name even before the appearance of the Aryan tribes into India. In those times, the word 'Kshatri' must have stood as a synonym of the name Arya or Aryan, since Kshatriya martial caste did not exist in the period when Aryan tribes were roaming from place to place in the near-Caspian regions and in Central Asia.

An objection might be taken to the writer's opinion that no traces of such a name of the heads of the family-kin groups were preserved in the ancient Indian literature, but that there are other names: adhvara, grihapati, hotvan and others. The explanation for this can be that the word Kshatri in the above-mentioned sense was a collective conception. Terms similar to 'grihapati', 'hotwan' and others arose, apparently, later, since those terms are related to definite socio-economic functions of the males.

The word 'Kshatri' or 'Kshatriya' is known to us also from the history of the republic—Janapadas, precisely as a collective name, related to the heads of the families. The function of soldiers was naturally characteristic of all the males of the tribes and that is why it stands to reason that the Kshatri was or had to be a soldier.

The classless society of Aryans got converted into class society in complicated historical conditions. They conquered a new country and became its masters, and carried out not only military but administrative and trade-exchange relations with the local population. Slowly moving forward along the rivers of north India, subordinating and assimilating the populations of these regions, Kshatri were compelled also to search for ways of further common existence. This alone constituted the basic

6. D. D. Kosambi, *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India.*

[illegible] patriarchy. [illegible]

[illegible] of mutual assimilation (which will be described in details below).

The Kshatri was that social environment, out of which a military apex grew in the process of these complicated relations. This apex was the future military aristocracy, that Kshatriya caste, which is very widely known in the Indian history.

The process of formation of this apex was more or less similar in the various regions of the Aryan colonization. In some Janapadas the ruling groups consisted of Kshatri—heads of the families of the first colonisers, who had captured the given regions; in some other Janapadas it consisted of Kshatri—heads of all families in general, including also those Aryans, who appeared here later. The Indian scholar A. S. Altekar writes about the existence of special terms for these two categories of rulers, the first were called Rajas and their descendants (and probably men-at-arms from martial nobility which was being formed)—Rajanya, or Rajanyaka and others—Rajan.[7]

It is possible that the conception of Rajan included within itself the chiefs or the heads of kin-tribal or family-kin groups of local pre-Aryan peoples, with whom Aryan Kshatries encouraged close economic-cultural relations.

Many a historian, studying the Vedic period emphasized that the martial caste in those days was known by the above-mentioned names (this term, is widely known, it is found also in Sanskrit dictionaries).[8]

It is possible to assume that precisely at this stage the words Kshatriya and Raja (and their deviations referred to above) assumed the meaning of synonyms and that since then the word Kshatriya came to mean only the martial caste.

One more term also existed, which cannot be passed over in silence. That term is 'vis' i.e. people, tribe, settlement. Considering everything, the people of Aryan tribes as a whole will called by that form. This word defined the Aryan population of each given region, irrespective of sex, age and origin. The Russian scholar V Miller[9] makes a witty and in our view correct

7. A. S. Altekar, *State of Government in Ancient India*, p. 113.

8. M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pp. 325 (Kshatra), 874-75 (Rajan).

9. V. Miller, *Outlines of the Aryan Mythology in Connection with the Most Ancient Culture*, p. 50.

attempt to show the analogy between this word and the ancient Russian word 'ves' ('village'). Besides, the Russian pronoun 'ves' ('all'), having the sense of unification, inclusion, also to all appearances, can be compared with this word 'vis'. Later on, from this term, the name of other caste 'Vaisya' came about in the class society of the Aryans. It was the caste of agriculturists, traders and handicraftsmen, who were the male Kshatriyas of preclass society in the epoch of further division of work.

S. A. Dange in his book alludes to the legend, contained in the 'Satapatha Brahmana'; a well-known and studied work, in which it is said that Prajapati gave birth to the groups (or conceptions? or pursuits?)—Brahma, Kshatra and Visa—after creating earth, sky and air and that Brahman was formerly one entity and it was indivisible.[10] According to Dange, the latter supports his view that 'Brahman' signified primitive society, which, later, in the process of class formation was divided into caste-groups. We wish to turn our attention to the words 'Kshatra' and 'Visa', which are clearly applicable to the view which we tried to interpret above.

In preclass society, Kshatri—head of the family, must have been a part on a level with all the other members of the tribe in the composition of 'Vis' i.e. people in general.

With the separation of Kshatriya-martial caste from their numbers, the major part of Kshatries continued their peaceful occupations and their name Kshatri was dissolved in the general name 'Vis' while being preserved in such names as Khatri or Khetri, which are related to the third caste—Vaisya. That is why one must not acknowledge as historically correct the observation that these castes were degraded Kshatriya-warriors.

* * * *

The population of the ancient Indian republics (in the given case what especially is of interest to us is the republics of the eastern regions) consisted first of all, of pre-Aryan population, which was compelled to acknowledge Aryan domination acquired by fire and sword. Exceedingly little is known about this population. From the sparse data, gathered from the

10. S. A Dange, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery.*

Vedic literary works, scholars concluded that this population was able to build ramparts or defensive structures similar to them and that they defended their independence in battles.

Several scholars assume that this pre-Aryan population knew iron, which, as is established, Aryans did not possess. This view is illustrated by the example of the Asuras—a small nationality living at present on the plateau of Netarhut in the state of Bihar and preserving to this day the handicraft of melting iron by hand and making iron tools. These Asuras are traced to those Asuras, who are constantly referred to as the enemies of Aryans in the Vedic literature. It is also considered that they were from some of those peoples, who had settled in the valley of Indus in the period of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, and were driven by the Aryans to the east.[11]

Judging from this and other analogous data about the pre-Aryan population, and also having learnt a good deal about the civilization of the valley of Indus and about the civilization, similar to it which existed to the south and the east of it, it is possible to subscribe with certainty to the view of almost all the contemporary scholars that the culture of the pre-Aryan population was, in a significant degree, higher than the culture of the Aryans.

Thus, we see that the process of assimilation must have flown from both the sides, and that the Aryans assimilated many aspects of material and spiritual culture of the local populations.

If the Aryan population grew irrepressibly in the north-west regions and thus had the possibility of preserving more elements (aspects) of its own culture, then the family-kin groups of the first Aryan colonisers who were isolated from the main mass of their own people and who had left for the east were compelled to adopt themselves to that culture and that ethnical environment in which they found themselves.

As a result of mutual assimilation and of the fact that assimilation of local culture by newcomers played a more significant role than the assimilation of the aspects of culture

11. K. K. Leuva, *The Asur;* V. G. Paranjape, *Asura Domination in Rigvedic India.*

of the Aryans by the local population extremely original, ethnical and socio-economic conditions were formed in the eastern regions. These conditions were not similar to those in which the processes of assimilation went on in the period of much later and much massive settlements of Aryans in India.

Precisely these original conditions, which were taking shape in the eastern part of the Gangetic plains were the most important factor, ensuring extensive development of new religious teachings, in particular of Jainism and Buddhism, in the middle of the first millennium B.C.

The republics—Janapadas of the eastern regions, as also the republics, which were existing in other regions of India are widely known as Kshatriya republics in the Indological literature. Here, on the territory of modern Bihar and the eastern regions of the state of Uttar Pradesh, republics of Shakkya, Koliya, Lichchavi (Vaishali), Videha, Bhana, Bali, Malla, Mariya etc. were situated. In some republics, monarchic mode of rule soon took shape, other republics pretty soon captured the neighbouring republics or united with them in confederations, carrying the common name. In the middle of the first millennium B.C. almost all of them were subordinate to the neighbouring monarchic slave-owning state of Magadha, but in the course of the subsequent sixth-eighth centuries often fell away from it, again came under its power or under the power of other strong rulers and as Altekar considers, ceased to exist only by the fourth century A.D.[12]

In this small work, we cannot delve deeper into the detailed explanation of the ethnical composition of the non-Aryan population of these republics. This is the subject of profound and special research. Here we will make an attempt to state briefly and in general outline, our view as to how the ethnical processes took shape in the north-west regions.

If until the beginning of the invasions of the Aryans, the population of the eastern part of the Gangetic plains was probably comparatively small, then the number and density of this population must have inevitably grown as a result of the penetration of the Aryans, and probably because many a tribe and possibly parts of strong and developed peoples

12. A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 187.

were driven here by the Aryans.

This population had not only many languages but it must have been attached to various religious beliefs. The distinct ethnical groups of this population stood on various levels of social-historical development.

The Aryans captured the land but were not able to populate it. Even though they kept all-around enough strong groups, which corresponded to our conception of garrisons, the Aryans encountered the necessity of reconciliation with the customs and social and religious institutes of the local people, with whom they came in contact. They encountered the necessity of adopting themselves to that historical circumstance which had taken shape before their arrival and as a result of their arrival as well.

In order not to fully merge themselves with the ethnical environments surrounding them, they strictly observed the traditions of geneological count, transferring the names of their own ancestors from generation to generation.[13]

It is possible to assume that these traditions were formed even before the arrival of the Aryans in India, since the whole of the life of these roaming tribes consisted of wanderings over lands, where they met various peoples and a count of kinship by word of mouth was a specific characteristic of their culture.

Let us turn our attention to the fact that there are three distinct lines in the geneological notes and tables. One line descends from great-father by the name of Manu Chakshusha and two lines from great-father by the name of Manu Vaivasvata.

From Manu Chakshusha came many a ruler (to all appearances, their names are indeed ethnonyms) who clearly do not belong to Aryans and who are territorially connected with ancient Bihar, Bengal, Assam and other eastern lands. From the material of Puranas and Vedic Epics and Buddhist and Jain literature, scholars have come to the conclusion that Nishada, Anga, Vena, Sudyumna Vainya and other rulers (read: peoples), descending from this Manu were in their basic mass non-Aryans.[14]

13. P. L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*.

14. For the people Sudyumna-Saudyumna and their probable affiliation to Munda, refer to S. M. Chatterji's *Kirata-jana-krti*. The Indo-Mongoloids.

From Manu Vaivasvata two lines of Aryan kins came about, which are widely known in literature under the name of Solar and Lunar dynasties. Territorially the Solar dynasty was connected in the main with the eastern and central Gangetic regions, and the Lunar, with the north-western and the western.

It is known that marriages frequently took place between Kshatriyas and especially Kshatriyas from Solar dynasty—and the women from the local peoples.

As a result of the processes of mutual assimilation, actively taking place in the eastern regions, Aryans leaving for the east earlier than others, were in many respects alien to and further away from their fellow-brethren, who following them appeared and settled in the north-east and only through several centuries moved to the east and the south.

It is also known that towards the middle of the first millennium B.C. (and possibly also earlier) the category of so-called Vratya-Kshatriyas i.e. Kshatriyas-by-vow, which means not by birth—existed in the east.[15]

Many a scholar assumes that those were the Kshatriyas who were the local chiefs and heads of kinships whom the Aryan Kshatriyas were compelled to acknowledge as members of their own caste, according to diplomatic considerations of those times.[16]

Thus, the processes of formation of class society of Aryans and that of the Kshatriya caste went on here in many complex conditions. Economic life of the local peoples, their social relations and undoubtedly their ideologies influenced the life of Aryans in the strongest manner and in the course of long duration of time.

The process of establishing class relations in Aryan society in the northwest went on, to all appearances, in a more con-

15. There are other interpretations of this term: (*a*) 'not fulfilling vows', 'unrighteous' Kshatriyas (Laws of Manu X 20); (*b*) members of non-brahmin society (Atharvaveda samhita Vol. II, pp. 769-70); V. C. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 118, 125; (*c*) members of tribal society accepted in Vedic society through ceremony of consecration (Ch. Sen, *Vratyas and the Vedic Society*, pp. 288-98).

16. Jawaharlal Nehru writes that belonging to the group of Kshatriyas depended more on the position and kind of profession than on the origin and this facilitated in the case of foreigners the process of unification with them (J. Nehru, *Discovery of India*).

centrated manner. Many an Aryan tribe settled here, making up a big ethnic mass, in which uniform type of material culture was cultivated and uniform spiritual culture was unfolding itself. The local pre-Aryan environment exerted its influence on one or the other aspect, but the settlement of Aryans in these regions for a long time, their numerical strength and the mutual territorial proximity of their tribes contributed to their success in transforming not only the types of their caste-class relations but also their normal laws, traditional holy legends and hymns, method of worship, in such measure as the local peoples in their neighbourhood had to accept this from their hands, as from the hands of a ruler and a conqueror and had to construct on this foundation their own social and spiritual life.

The result of the developing caste-class relations and the division into the caste of priests-Brahmins was the formation of caste-structure and further with this, elevation by the Brahmins of prohibitions and limitations to the level of religious dogmas. This divided the people into castes and prohibited transfer from the lower castes into the higher. Hence Brahmanism, invariably attended by caste structure and by the demand of assigning high position to Brahmins in the society and showing them limitless respect, started spreading in the whole of India.

This religion reflected the process of the development of castes and, more important, of the warriors and rulers—rajas. unfolded themselves in the ancient Indian monarchies. In 'Mahabharat' one comes across description everywhere, showing how highly Brahmins were treated in monarchic states.

Brahmin became the professional and the sole votary of the cult, spiritual leader and mentor of members of all other castes and, more important, of the warriors and rulers—rajas. Such a position began to take shape already in early-state formations, where only the monarchic manner of governance was just proceeding.

The spiritual domination of the Kshatri, the patriarch of the family-kin groups in the past and the independent position of the Kshatriya-warrior in military-democratic republics later on, was replaced by their dependence on Brahmins, not only in the religious-cultural matters but also in the affairs

of state administration, in the questions of war and peace, in the distribution of surplus products, in a word, in all the aspects of social and productive life.

All around, one of the main demands of the Brahmins was the demand of generous offerings to Gods and liberal gifts to themselves. The offerings to Gods were to consist mainly of cattle—sometimes thousands of cattle, sheep and goats were driven out for offerings. Horses which were rare animals in India in those days were also driven out for offerings. Huge number of poultry was also chopped off.[17]

The whole ritual of worship was made complicated to the extreme by the Brahmins and the role of the sacrificer and the prayer was reduced to obediently repeating after the Brahmins the unintelligible prayer-formulaes and to make mechanically certain gestures and movements according to the instructions of the Brahmins (which can be presently seen in contemporary India during performance of puja-prayer-offering ceremony).

As distinct from the monarchies in the republic Ganas, administered by the Kshatriya aristocracy, the struggle against the growing power of the Brahmins was specially intensive. It was such a powerful and sharp struggle that many Brahmins did not at once become exclusive categories, they remained more as soldiers, heads of the patriarchal kins and then professional holy priests. The functions of holy priests, warrior and mentor of the youth, combined in one person in the kindred gana, did not at once get divided between various social groups and hence Brahmin-warrior in that transitional period was a strong and influential figure (for example, Drona in Mahabharat—mentor of young heroes of the epic or Vishwamitra, Parashuram and other Brahmin-warriors, widely known in the history of Indian culture).

The struggle of Kshatriyas with Brahmins in the north-west regions, in the centre of the intensive process of class-formation of Aryan society and of the birth of monarchy did not undermine the influence of Brahmins and could not give birth

17. Research scholar of Indian religions N. K. Dutt considers that the renunciation of killing of cattle, sheep and goats would have spread in the society much more slowly if there was no teaching of Jains and Buddhists about ahimsa i.e. non-violence (N. K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Castes in India*, p. 204).

to somewhat influential anti-Brahmin ideology. On the borders of the region where Brahmanism was spreading itself, in particular in the north-east, the Kshatriya freemen did not easily give up their own position. Here, in the conditions of the existence of republics, population of which consisted mainly of local peoples, the struggle with Brahminism assumed a sharp and prolonged character. It was inevitably to take the form of struggle against the expansion of the much later Aryan mass and simultaneously struggle for the preservation of kin-tribal or republican structure, of any character.[18]

S. A. Dange contends that new religions which have arisen here were given birth to by the feudal relations which were springing up.[19] The question whether feudal relations were shaping themselves in India in the first millennium B.C. is a subject of discussion in the circles of historians and economists, studying in India. Until there is unanimity, we also cannot delve deeper into this problem here. It is important for us to note that historical conditions for the formation and consolidation of slave-owning process took shape in the first half of the first millennium B.C. The slave-owning process which, irrespective of the extent of ripening of feudalism in that period fell first of all as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the conquered local peoples. These people in their basic mass, excluding their chiefs, military apex and votaries were taken by the Brahmanised Aryans as Shudras—the lowest caste of the society.

Indignation of local peoples as a result of the forcible assimilation and enslavement could very easily find its expression in the republics, where, moreover, were preserved the strongest survivals of commune kin relations. Precisely in the north-eastern regions, not only caste-class struggle took place but also ethnical movements, directed against the march of the Aryan masses. And precisely here, on the borders of the world of the Brahmins, new, anti-Brahmanic faiths were to become the ideological banner of this struggle and these movements.

18. About the various types of such republics, refer to S. A. Dange, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*; G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Certain Aspects of Castes Organisation in Ganas and Sanghas of Ancient India—Castes in India*, pp. 109-32.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

It is considered that earlier than all the other religions of that kind, arose Bhagvatism (from the word 'Bhagvat' or 'Bhagvan' —God) i.e. that creed which proposes to set apart the Vedic polytheism, pantheon and to worship the indivisible supreme God. In various areas of India Shiva and Krishna were such Gods. Krishna was pronounced as the incarnation of the God Vishnu. According to the common opinion of the scholars of Indian religions, both these Gods came in the Aryan polytheism from the pre-Aryan peoples of India.

We will dwell here on Krishnaism, as a clear example of the rise of anti-Brahmanic cult in the non-Brahmanic, and as will be shown below, clearly non-Aryan environment. Here Krishnaism merits attention as a religion, similar to Jainism, in its origin.

Krishna, son of Vasudev, from the kin of Kshatriyas viz., Satvata or Vrishni (from the city of Mathura), a branch of the Yadav tribes,[20] is considered the creator of the philosophy of Bhagvatism.

The earliest reference to Krishna occurs in the Chhandogya-Upanishad (dated the second half of the first millennium B.C.), where it is said that he developed in his own teachings a number of ideas, adopted by him from his mentor, the wise Ghora Angirasa and that both of them lived up to the sixth century B.C[21]

Who was he and what is known about him. besides that his name 'Krishna' means 'black' in Sanskrit?

From the legends about his birth, it follows that he was

20. To all appearances, Krishna Vasudev can be considered a historical personage, because in a number of works of ancient Indian literature, coincident or extremely close evidences are met about him.

21. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 37; D. R. Mankad, "Chronological Distance between Rama and Krishna." D R. Mankad argues in his researches that preceptor of Krishna, Ghora Angirasa was the author of a number of hymns of Rigveda and was a contemporary of Rama, the hero of the epic poem *Ramayana*. Hence he concludes that Krishna lived soon after Rama. During Rama's times Brahmins and Kshatriyas led a fierce war, which is manifest from the legend of the Brahman-warrior Parshuram who exterminated Kshatriyas from the earth and Rama could succeed in propitiating him with great difficulty. (This episode is mentioned in all the expositions of *Ramayana* e.g. refer to Tulsidas's *Ramayana*.

born in a Kshatriya family, that his mother's name was Devaki who was a sister of Kansa, ruler of a state. Immediately after birth Krishna was secretly carried by his father to Gokul on the other bank of the river Jamuna, and was handed over to a family of shepherds, where he grew up unrecognised [this happened because of the prophesy that he would destroy Kansa when he (Krishna) grows and that is why Kansa had killed all the children of his sister].

Were both his parents of Kshatriya-Aryan kin? This question automatically arises, when facts of this legend are compared with the traditional representation of the colour of his skin and with the significance of his name.

Were Satwatas really Aryan people? Apparently one must give a negative answer to this question. There are many references in Vimal Ch. Law's book[22] to the works of ancient literature about the Satwatas and the people close to them and this data can be reduced in brief to the following:

The name 'Satwata' covers the group of peoples, divided in three basic branches: andhaka—vrishni, mahabhoja and daivavridha. The Satvatas as a whole are considered as one of the branches of the Yadav people. Matsya-puran and Vayu-puran trace the Hayhaiya people to the Satvatas. Tracing this line, we see that the Bhoja tribes, judging from the data of Jain geographical treaties Jambudiva-pannati, settled in the region of the Vindhya mountains. In this work all of them are called 'Milakha', which V. Ch. Law translates as 'non-Aryan'. The treatise includes the language 'andhaka' in the group of languages called 'Milkhanam Bhasa'. Mr. Law considers that these tribes were aboriginals of the Vindhya mountains.[23] 'Aitareya-Brahmana' relegates Satwatas to the south Indian peoples, along with Nishads, who are considered as people who spoke in one of the languages of the Austric family,[24] i.e. apparently the languages of munda. By placing Satvatas in the same category with Nishads, the Brahmana does not at all reckon them amongst Aryans.

Thus, judging from these works, peoples traced to Yadavas—

22 V. Ch Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 86-107

24. R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 8.

people of Krishna—did not belong to Aryans.

Krishna's origin is directly from the branch of Satvatas, andhaka-vrishni. We shall have ground to consider andhakas as andhras i.e. dravidian people, if we turn our attention to Mr. Law's indication that the word 'andhaka' in pali is used in the same sense as the word 'andhra'.[25] Etymologically, the words andha and andhra are identical. Mr. Law indicates that Vincent-Smith also considers andhakas as dravidian people, who spoke in Telugu and that Shrinivas Iyengar, agreeing with this, assumes that they lived in the region of Vindhya mountains.[26] Mr. Law elaborates that the word 'andhaka' was used also for the two peoples—mullaka and assaka, who lived, according to the data of the Buddhist literature, on the banks of the river Godavary, near the Vindhya mountains. It means that the name 'andhak' embraced a big group of closely related tribes of non Aryan origin. They were connected with the whole area of Vindhya mountains. Krishna, who consequently came to be regarded as a God, belonged to one of these peoples.

In the Brahmanic literature and in the epic Mahabharat it is said that Krishna's uncle Kansa was indeed an incarnation of a demon and that is why the gods endowed Krishna with the strength to kill him. Such an interpretation can be easily understood as an attempt on the part of the Brahmins to 'Aryanise' the image of godness of one who had been the object of wide reverence, in bhagvatism. The prince Krishna, was apparently only a semi-Aryan Kshatriya by origin and did not simply grow in the non-Aryan environment of rural settlements.

How was indeed this rural populace of those times? What were the rural settlements like, in the regions along the river Jamuna, and also the forest regions (the very name of the place where Krishna passed his childhood and youth—Vrindavan—means thick forest)? And if not with his own native people, then with whom Krishna's father could have most probably hidden him from attempts on his life from the side of Kansa, who was afraid of losing his throne? The danger of seizure of the throne by the son of Kansa's sister was com-

25. V. Ch. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 198.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

pletely real, since even at present, the custom according to which not one's own son but the son of the sister is the inheritor is preserved with a number of Dravidian peoples. Kansa's fear for Krishna as the inheritor of the throne is more confirmed by the assumption about the non-Aryan origin of Krishna. (During the times of Krishna, matriarchal succession was well known in the given region. His being constantly referred to as Devaki-putra or son of Devaki speaks in favour of this statement.)

It is known that Krishna's father carried him across Jamuna. Jamuna apparently served in that region as the border between the Aryan and the non-Aryan settlements. The Aryans avoided settling in the forests and set fire and cleared them off in the vicinity of their fields and pastures. The suggestion that attempts from the side of Kansa's people to assimilate local settlement had led to the marriage of Kansa's sister with local chieftain (this device was utilised by many Aryan rulers in those days), and that usurpation of Kansa's throne by their son historically did take place, is completely realistic.

Bhagvatism started spreading from Mathura, as propaganda of the belief in one of the indigenous gods of local and non-Aryan settlement and as an expression of anti-Aryan, anti-Brahmin and anti-caste movement. This movement must invariably have developed and did develop in the environment of pre-Aryan settlement, which was, in overwhelming majority, in the position of low, oppressed castes.

In *Rigveda*, Krishna is spoken of as a leader of non-Aryan tribe. According to legends, he was an enemy of Vedic god Indra and so Indra caused terrible showers of rain on the land of shepherds, rearing Krishna, but Krishna saved the people, holding mountain above the earth as an umbrella. It is possible to gather many such legends from the Vedic and epic literature.

The process of accepting of god Krishna by the Brahmanic faith and gradually introducing him in the ranks of Brahmanic deities,[27] is reflected in these works too.

From the pattern of the legend about Krishna, who, after

27. It should be noted that in the Indian iconography god Krishna is invariably portrayed black or dark-blue.

seizing the throne became the head of the ruling Kshatriya kin and later became famous as the greatest of the Kshatriyas, it is clearly seen how non-Aryan warriors and leaders could have historically been reckoned and were undoubtedly reckoned in the caste of Kshatriyas and how the inclusion of local cults in the system of Brahmanism came about.

Krishnaism as a form of Bhagvatism is nearer Jainism in its origin and undoubtedly exercised its influence on this religion.[26]

In east India Buddhism and Jainism were the most significant amongst all the new teachings of that epoch.

26. H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part I, Introduction, p. XXXI. Several research scholars contend that Krishnaism developed after Jainism and even under its influence (B. G. Gokhale, *Ancient India*).

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL AND ETHNICAL ROOTS OF JAINISM

ACCORDING to the author's knowledge, the question viz. in which ethnical environments Jainism or the elements of the cult and those philosophic conceptions which lay at the basis of the faith of the Jains arose and developed, has not been elaborated so far.

It is possible only to surmise approximately which elements of spiritual culture of non-Aryan peoples penetrated into the new philosophic systems and religions, shaping themselves in India, in the first half of the first millennium B.C. and to attempt to bring those elements to light by the method of counter-posing them to those elements, which were characteristic of the Vedic (i.e. Aryan) society.

There are at least eight features which distinguish Jainism from Vedic religion and Brahmanism. Those features are so much substantial that they do not afford any possibility of regarding Jainism as a sect of Brahmanism or its some other product. These features can be reduced to the following:

(1) Jainism rejects holiness of Veda.
(2) Stands against the dogma that gods are the main objects of worship.
(3) Rejects bloody sacrifices and a number of other elements of Brahmanic ritual.
(4) Does not recognise Varna—Caste System—of the Brahmanic society.
(5) Prescribes defence of other's life.
(6) Prescribes asceticism.
(7) Prescribes nudity at the time of ritual.
(8) Allows women monkhood, learning of holy books etc.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the philosophy

of Upanishads which developed within the bounds of Vedic faiths or more probably, on the basis of several Vedic doctrines, accepting non-Brahmanic (and sometimes directly anti-Brahmanic) character rendered significant influence on Jainism (as also on Buddhism and Bhagvatism). In particular, we have in mind the conception that man can directly turn to God (to the Absolute), can achieve salvation by his own deeds and thoughts without the medium of Brahmin-priest without numerous sacrifices or offerings.

The basic philosophic conception, on the basis of which all the anti-Brahmanic teachings developed on the so-called outskirts of the Vedic world lies precisely in this fact.

It is also possible to assume that the Upanishadis, although included in Vedic literature, adopted a number of elements of non-Brahmanic i.e. in the main, non-Aryan cults.

Pannikar's contention that the teachings of Upanishadas demanded 'high development of individual' causes some doubt.[1] This was a teaching rather having its source in that situation where a full-fledged community member—Kshatri—occupied the position of performer of a number of communal functions in the kin-tribe commune. Later on in the republic Janapada, this position was occupied by the independent warrior-Kshatriya. Probably, because of this, the teaching of Upanishadas spread widely in the Kshatriya republics.

It is not accidental that the philosophy of Upanishadas is called the philosophy of Kshatriyas by research scholars in the course of many years. And it is probable that precisely as a result of its proximity to the Kshatriya ideology, the Upanishadas had much in common with Jainism.

H. Jacobi, comparing Jainism with Buddhism and Brahmanism, came to the conclusion that there are elements, common to all the three religions and these according to him are precisely[2]: faith in rebirth of spirit, teaching about Karman (retribution according to deeds, performed in the previous births), belief that it is possible to achieve salvation from further rebirths and belief in the periodical manifestations of prophets (or gods), who strengthen religion and truth on the

1. K. M. Pannikar, *A Survey of Indian History*, Bombay, 1957.
2. H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part I, Introduction.

earth. The first three positions are related to the prescriptions to spare other's life and cannot be agreeable with the Aryan prescriptions of innumerable sacrifices. That is why they are apparently borrowed by the later Brahmanism from non-Vedic faiths and it means that they are hardly brought into Jainism by the Aryans. It is possible that only the last one out of the four positions constituted a contribution by the Aryans to reformative faiths since this position reminds us of the Aryan tradition of succession by word of mouth of geneological birth and tracing of their births to prophets and great grand-parents.

It is possible that the prominent contribution of Aryans to the rise of these faiths consists in that after having moved forward along India and having come in contact with its various peoples, they played the role of collectors of their traditions and carried to the eastern Gangetic regions many cult elements and ethical prescriptions, which came later in Jainism, Buddhism and other religions.

According to legends of the Jains, their religion in ancient times had spread over the whole of India, and all of them were Kshatriyas.[3] According to another legend, Devananda, a Brahmin woman should have given birth to Mahavir Jina (founder of Jainism in that form in which this religion has come down to us), but the embryo had been transferred to the bosom of Trisala, a Kshatriya woman, since Mahavir was not to receive life from Brahmins or from the members of the lower castes.[4] (Can there be anything more characteristic in India than showing repulsion towards Brahmins?)

Research scholars of the philosophy of Hinduism emphasise that it was precisely Kshatriyas who introduced in this philosophy the conceptions known by the name of atmavidya and mokshadharma.[5] According to the first incept the place of

3. F. Bushanan, *Particulars of the Jains, During Travels in Canara*; N. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 402 (Colebrooke also informs that the Jains who leave their religion are accepted in various castes of Kshatriyas of the Indian community, which could not have happened if the fact that they belonged originally to this caste was not generally known); I. Minayev, *Information About the Jains and Buddhists*.

4. H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part I, Introduction, p. XXXI.

5. N. Munni, *Philosophy of Soul is the Gift of Kshatriyas to Indian Thought*, pp. 180-81.

supreme origin is assigned to the soul (atman) and it is considered higher than the gods. The second prescribes the way of self-perfection, the way of moral maturity for those who aspire for freedom—Moksha. Both these conceptions are not in agreement with the Brahmanic teaching about the way of salvation through performance of ritual actions, directed towards the propitiation of gods. But they agree in full with the principles of Jain (and equally Buddhist) philosophy.

The tradition, widely represented in the ancient Indian literature asserts that the conception of atmavidya had spread precisely in eastern Gangetic regions (i.e. where the faith of Jainism was formed) and that even Brahmins used to come to listen to the sermons of Kshatriya rulers of these regions.[6] (For example, to listen to the sermons of the members of the dynasty of Janaka, to which belonged father of Sita, glorified in Ramayana.) Ancient Indian literature contains indications of the deep antiquity of the sources of Jainism and it also indicates that the Kshatriyas and ascetics from Vratyas i.e. non-Aryans played noticeable rule in establishing non-Vedic teachings. Alluding to the fact that monks—Shraman (and more ancient name of Jainism and Jain monks is precisely 'Shraman') are referred to in Rigveda, in Taitiriya-aranyaka and in Bhagvat-puran, and also alluding to the fact the word 'muni' though rarely referred to in the works of Vedic literature meant in antiquity an ascetic—hermit of non-Vedic tradition, several authors contend that during the time when Vedas were taking shape, a number of elements which had entered subsequently in Jain religion were already known. This is confirmed by the fact that monks are called arhanas or arhatas in Rigveda and Atharvaveda i.e. by the *word which is invariably applied in* Jain tradition for the designation of great teachers and preachers of this religion.

Vratya-khanda—part of Atharvaveda—glorifies learned ascetic-vratya i.e. ascetic-non-Brahmin, who came superior to Vedic gods, had subdued four countries of the world and by his breath had given birth to the whole world.[7]

6. This has been referred to in Upanishadas also. See article by A. Ya. Syrkin, about certain conformities with law in the contents of early Upanishadas—*India in Ancient Times*, p. 108.

7. *Atharvaveda Samhita*, Vol. II, pp. 769-91.

Colebrooke indicates that many Greek authors of the third century B.C. divided all the philosophers in two groups—samans (shramans) and brahmans—and emphasised such a great difference between them that they considered them belonging to different races.[8] This testimony is very valuable in as much as it emphasises racial differences between Jains and non-Jains. Whatever the Greeks understood by the word 'race'—whether belonging to different linguistic families or to different anthropological types, the fact that the difference between the bearers of religions—Brahmanism and Jainism—was so much noticeable that it gave ground to ascribe them to different races is important. Only one interpretation can be given to this and that is in those times, followers of Jainism were, in the main, representatives of pre-Aryan population of the country. This means that there is a basis to assert that the chief components of this non-Vedic religion were engendered by non-Aryan ethnical environments.

Many contemporary research scholars have also come to the conclusion that the roots of Jainism are significantly more ancient than the middle of the first millennium B.C.[9]

One of the contemporary leaders of Jain community, Sanskritologist Acharya Shri Tulsi finds confirmation in the four Puranas, of his opinion that the Asuras, already referred to in our work were not only non-Vedic i.e. non-Aryan people but they were the priests of Jain religion. He also considers that the pose of Yogasana, in which several human figures are drawn on the seals of Mohenjodaro was worked out by the Jains, was widely known in pre-Aryan India and was borrowed much later by the Hindu ascetics.[10]

The description in one of the sections of the canonical literature of the Jains 'Naiyadhamakahao', of the marriage of the heroine of Mahabharat, Draupadi with five brothers—the Pandavas—as a polyandrical marriage which Draupadi performs fully consciously, serves as an interesting testimony of the deep antiquity of the Jain religion and the cultural-historical tradition of Jainism. In this work it is shown that the girl

8. H. T. Colebrooke, *Observations on the Sect of Jains*, p. 287-322.
9. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, p. 36.
10. T. Acharya, *Pre-Vedic Existence of Shraman Culture*, p [illegible]

accepts the five brothers as husbands voluntarily and according to her desire.[11]

Such a description is important for us for two reasons. Firstly, it clearly relates to that epoch, when polyandrical marriages were not prohibited, were not disreputable. It bears more ancient character in comparison to Mahabharat itself and all the subsequent literature, developing and explaining these and other episodes of this epic, since in all these works attempts are invariably made as if to make apologies for the very fact of this marriage, to elucidate, to legalise, or to ascribe external reasons for this form of marriage, which was not acceptable to the Aryan society of the epoch of formation of Mahabharat and was denounced by the social opinion, religious canons and the code of rights. Secondly, it shows that Jains did not denounce polyandrical marriage. This again gives ground to connect Jainism with that ethnical environment, in which such a marriage was the norm of family relations i.e. it was possible with the Dravidian tribes, amongst whom, even at present, strong survivals of polyandry exist.

It is worthwhile turning attention to the Swastik signs, seen on the seals of Cultures of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, and which are common in the symbols of Jainism. Swastik is the symbolic sign of the 7th priest (Tirthankar), Suparshva (the Jains consider that there were 23 Tirthankars before Mahavir) and the middle part forms the sign of the 18th Tirthankar Ara. This sign is always drawn in manuscripts, in miniatures and in the ornaments of the Jain temples etc.

Several scholars consider that the system of counting of periods of time, called yuga, kalpa and manvantara, known to Hinduism (and correspondingly in Indological literature) arose before Vedic culture and that in Hinduism this system penetrated in that epoch, when it had to withstand Buddhism and Jainism.[12]

While agreeing that the sources of Jainism arose in non-Aryan environment and that Kshatriyas (Aryans as well as Vratyas) played a significant role in forming new faiths, we cannot all the same, explain to which people these Vratya-Kshatriyas belonged—to Mundas or to Dravids, to Tibetan,

11. M. J. Kashalikar, *The Story of Draupadi's Swayamvara.*
12. L. Rocher, *The Cyclical Concept of Time in Hinduism*, pp. 208-9.

Burmese or to Mon-khmerese. The ethnical map of the settlement of these people in ancient India is not yet made.[13]

The ancient Aryans in the process of their marching along India must have undoubtedly had contacts with all these peoples and borrowed from them many elements of material and spiritual culture,[14] but it is difficult to ascertain what precisely was borrowed in the west, in the regions of the civilisation of the valley of the Indus and what in the east, on the plains of the Ganges.

Several research scholars assume that the kins of Saudyumna and Satadyumna, referred to in the geneological lists of Puranas originated from the Mundas.[15] The culture of the hidden copper treasure and yellow ceramics, the contemporary civilisation of the valley of Indus, which is widely known at present and referred to in every work on the ancient history of India, was also quite possibly created by the ancestors of the Mundas.[16]

13. All the researchers who have written about the ancient history, ethnography or geography of India, have expressed their opinion on this question. More or less new works, attracting wide attention of indologists are: K. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*; Sh. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlement in Ancient India*; K. M. Pannikar, *A Survey of Indian History* (published in Russian translation); G. K. Pillai, *Traditional History of India*; R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasutras*; and D. S. Sirkar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India.*

14. Refer to I. Zarubin, *The Vershik Speech of Kanjut Language*; F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit*; G. T. Bowles, *Linguistic and Racial Aspects of the Mundas Problem.*

Pillai in his work *Traditional History of India* writes that in the Santali (the strongest language in the Munda family) the word 'Jambu' which formed a part of the ancient name of India—Jambudvipa—means 'strong heat' and the words 'Sind, Sindh' mean 'break into', 'make a breach into'. In as much as the word 'Sind' gave birth to the name of the country viz. India, Pillai considers that it is possible to interpret it in the sense that Aryans as though 'broke through' in this country. This is given here as only an example of numerous attempts to clarify the degree of influence of pre-Aryan population and in particular of the Mundas, on the language and culture of Aryans. Shaffer narrates that on the atlas *Constable's Hand Atlas of India* (Westminster, 1893, pl. 9) Mundas are shown at 75 miles from the town of Patna—capital of modern Bihar, i.e. quite recently they settled even in Bihar, very much more to the north than they live at present.

15. G. K. Pillai, *Traditional History of India.*

16. Review of material on this question, given in the book *Peoples of Pakistan*, by Yu. Gankovsky, pp. 33-35.

The territory of this agrarian culture was spread along the lower and middle course of the Ganges and precisely the regions from where Jainism started to spread from the 6th-5th centuries B.C. were included in this.

Non-Aryan origin of many rulers of ancient Indian kingdoms is frequently shown directly in the geneologies, contained in the Puranas. It is also shown therein that the local people could originate from Aryans only by means of some miracle or transformation. The Brahmin-warrior Vishwamitra himself was connected by his birth to the people of Mundhatara (middle Ganges), which is considered non-Aryan. He was the priest of Karna (step-brother of the five Pandavas—the heroes of Mahabharat) and this Karna as informed in the poem was the pre-marital son of the mother of Pandavas from the Sun-god and having been reared by the member of much lower caste than Kshatriya did not have the right even to contest with them in the war-games. Later he was accepted in the caste of Kshatriyas and became a ruler but then he ruled in the extreme eastern regions of the Ganges (it is worthwhile turning our attention to this). The whole legend of Karna can be understood as only one more illustration of the history of the rise of Vratya-Kshatriyas from the environments of local population of India and in particular, the Eastern India.

Mahabharat abounds in episodes in which in direct or metaphorical form extremely various contacts between the Aryans and the non-Aryans are described. In many works of Vedic literature and in the ancient codes of rights the people of eastern Indian religions are spoken of as of mixed origin.

The ritual of Brahmanism had prescribed for a person from the countries of Vedic culture to undergo rites of purification, after he visited the eastern Indian regions. Aryans considered as barbarous (Mlenchhas) those regions, of India, where there were not four Varnas i.e. estates, already formed in their own society.[17]

17. R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasutras*, p. 101; Sh. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Part I (here, the author alludes to the famous historian of Indian culture, D. R. Bhandarkar, who considers that the Aryan influence was firmly established in the east of India, and in particular in Bengal, only in 3rd-4th centuries A.D.); V. Ch. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 118.

The fact of borrowing the holiday (festival) of temple chariots, by the later Aryans which was not known to the Vedic Aryans, established by the researchers speaks of the penetration of elements of local cultures in Brahmanism in eastern Gangetic land. Amongst all Dravidian peoples in the south of India every temple has its own day, when the chief deity of this temple is carried in a solemn procession in a richly decorated chariot along the streets of the town.

In the north and north-west of India this ceremony bears a rather symbolic character, since its world-famous centre is the town of Puri in Orissa, the age-old centre of worship of God Krishna, in the form of Jagannatha. In Jainism festivals of temple chariots are also known.[18]

The bearers of the 'culture of hidden copper treasure' probably did not have the custom of mass offerings of cattle in sacrifice to the deities and expressed indignation at these bloody killings of hundreds of domesticated animals in the name of Aryan gods. Apparently, this practice was not prevailing amongst the Dravidians, since in the very early works of South Indian literature, coming down to us (in Tamilian epics of the beginning of our era) this practice is not reflected.[19]

The indignation at sacrificial offerings must have been very deep, because the Aryans did not offer in sacrifice only cattle-herds but the representatives of local peoples—such cases are repeatedly described in Mahabharat, where these people are referred to as Nagas (serpents), Rakshasas (demons) etc. In the ancient texts in Pali language it is indicated precisely that Brahmins practised Purushmedh i.e. sacrificial offerings in the form of human beings.[20]

If it is assumed that the people of 'the culture of hidden copper treasure' in the east had not developed philosophy, then it must be assumed that in the west, amongst the creators of civilisation of the valley of Indus, i.e. in the established class society, it could have reached high degree of development. That is why it is natural to think that clashing with this ancient civi-

18. J. R. Verma, *Jain Temples of Palitana.*

19. Xavier S Thani Nayagam, *Earliest Jain and Buddhist Teaching in the Tamil Country.*

20. V. Ch Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p 205

lisation and existing side by side with it and its creators in the course of certain period, the first Aryan newcomers adopted from them a number of philosophic conceptions and marching towards the east should carry them with themselves. It is possible that precisely those conceptions formed the component part of the reformatory faiths, which were born there.

Prescription of strict vegetarianism, which is one of the principles of Jain ethics developed in all probability in non-Aryan environment. Vegetarianism could not have been natural to the ancient Aryans, if only due to climatic conditions of those countries from where they came to India (also Vedas do not give us any ground to affirm that vegetarianism was prevalent with cattle-breeders—Aryans). But in the climatic conditions of India, full or partial abstention from meat as food is singularly possible to imagine and that is why it is natural to assume that the first Aryan newcomers living in India, possibly several centuries before the arrival here of basic waves of tribes of their kinsmen adopted from the local population the custom of vegetarianism, which occupied a very important place also in the syncretic faith of Jainism.

The Asuras attract much attention from amongst pre-Aryan peoples of India, who have left behind a noticeable trace of complex, syncretic faiths, which had developed in Bihar. There were apparently numerous people or more probably a big group of tribes, settled in the north and east of India and undoubtedly underwent forced assimilation with the Aryans coming on their soil. The resistance of Asuras as also of other local peoples to this assimilation served as the greatest reason for the formation of anti-Brahmanic, reformatory faiths in Bihar.

It is known that Aryans called the Asuras, demons, enemies of their gods and consequently their own enemies. It is difficult to ascertain which of the local peoples were covered by this appellation (as it is difficult to ascertain whether Asuras lived in the valley of Indus). But since ethnography knows about the autochthonous people called Asuras (Asura, Asur) living in Bihar even at present, there is every ground to assume that precisely this ethnonym lies at the basis of the term 'Asura' in Vedic literature. The word Asura or Akhura is found not only in Rigveda but in 'Avesta' also. Does it not speak of the Asuras, having settled sometime much distant towards the west

than where they live at present?

Let us turn our attention to the traces of distant past of the Asuras on the territories which are of interest to us in this context.

In Mahabharat, the description of the unjust rule of the ruler of ancient Magadha, Jarasandha, and the manner in which Pandavas, incensed by his wicked acts, killed him with the support of their colleague Krishna, occupies significant place.

This Jarasandha, according to the epic, was born in the form of two halves of a child, from two wives of his father, who abandoned these halves. But a she-demon (rakshasi) found those parts, composed them together and the child came to life. That is why, in the epic, Jarasandha is called the son of rakshasi, which explains his wicked nature (read Anti-Aryan Tendency).

Jarasandha is portrayed as an Asura in many works of Vedic literature.[21]

The other legend (contained in the Puranas) says that at one time an Asura-giant named Gaya lived on this earth, who was a zealous bhagwat. He was an adherent of God Vishnu. Vishnu endowed him with great sanctity. Then the gods turned to Gaya with a request to be allowed to perform sacrificial offerings on his body. Gaya agreed and the gods, placing his head to the north and feet to the south started to perform the sacrificial ceremony. But Gaya's head began to shake and this disturbed them. Then all of them climbed on his head but until Vishnu himself appeared, it continued to shake. After this, Gaya requested that gods should always stay on his head, and since then, that place, where according to the legend, lay his head, and now called Gaya, is considered one of the very holy places in India. It is situated in the southern part of Bihar.[22]

The other Sanskrit names of this place are Gayashiras (head of Gaya) and Munda-prishtha (the hind part of the head, back of the head). It is possible to assume also another inter-

21. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 114. The famous German indologist Walter Ruben ascribes Asuras to the Munda peoples (W. Ruben, *Eisenschmiede und Démonen in Indien*).

22. Legend renarrated from the book by J. H. Dave, *Immortal India*, Vol. I, pp. 33-35.

pretation for the last name, that is, 'shaved back of the head' or possibly 'back of the Munda', since the word Munda also means 'head' and 'shaved' and also the Munda people.

From this legend, it is possible to conclude that Asuras, who were related possibly to the Munda people lived in closest contact with the Aryans, who had come before although it is fully possible to assume that these contacts started with the Aryans bringing the Asuras for offerings to their own gods (this is unequivocally reflected in the above legend). It is also apparent that Arya-Kshatri from amongst the first new-comers adopted from Asuras and included in their own religious beliefs a whole number of new cultural notions. It must not also be forgotten that, living in the regions of iron ore deposits and having been able to smelt it, the Asuras apparently stood higher in the sphere of material production than the early Aryans. In the remains of the ancient settlements, which local tradition ascribes to the Asuras, ruins of brick buildings in stone temples, funeral urns, huge flagstones and columns were found. Smelteries for iron ore, copper objects and gold coins were also detected.[23] Borrowing of new production skills by the Aryans from the Asuras must have also promoted this borrowing of the elements of spiritual culture from them.

In Bihar, before the arrival of the Aryans, worship of funeral structures was developed.[24] The Aryans did not adopt this custom but in the ancient Jainism, this custom was one of its essential component parts. This is a clear illustration of how actively new religions, arising in eastern Gangetic regions absorbed local tribal ways of worship (in Buddhism also worship of stupas—structures for worship related to the funeral was prevalent). Gaya since then is a centre of pilgrimage for those who wish to perform shraddha—sacrificial offering for salvation of the souls of ancestors.

In Gaya and nearby, worship of trees which is also an indigenous cult of many local peoples, the Asuras, Birhores, Oraones, Mundas, Gonds and others, is highly developed. This cult is part and parcel of Jainism and Buddhism. It is con-

23. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 82.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

sidered that Mahavir Jina secured 'enlightenment', while sitting under the Ashoka tree, and Buddha under the boor nim tree.

Worship of yakshas—wicked and kind spirits inflicting diseases and also driving them away, sometimes saving men's lives in the forest and sometimes destroying them—existed in ancient Bihar. Yakshas are described as spirits of trees, springs and mountains. In Vedic literature and in the Epic about them, they are spoken of as people, which apparently reflects the meeting of Aryans with the people who worshipped Yakshas. Such animist representations, characteristic of the cults of all local people occupy an important place in the philosophy of Jainism.

There are many references in literature about enmity and clashes of the Aryans with the Asuras.

It is described in Mahabharat (III, 90, 301) that the Asura by name Vatapi behaved with the Brahmins so scornfully and with such enmity that one of the Aryan sages reduced him to ashes by his curse.

In Arthashastra (XIV, 178-3) Asuras are referred to as indulging in magical conspiracies, from which it is clear that the Aryans in their images connected them with black magic (black magic, witchcraft, sorcery are even today spread amongst the Asuras and other local tribes of Bihar).

'Manavadharmashastra' (Laws of Manu) considers that marriage called 'asura' is a lower form of marriage and does not conform to the religious-ethical prescription of Dharma; marriages of Paishacha and Asura form must never be performed.[25] According to this form of marriage 'Dahej' (bride-price) is given for the bride. This practice is not adopted by the Aryans and to this day is condemned by all 'pure' castes. (A rational father must not take even the smallest insignificant recompensation for the daughter.[26] But with the aboriginal tribes, including Mundas, 'Dahej' (bride-price) is compulsorily paid for the daughter and this custom is widely spread amongst the lower castes which were formed out of the pre-Aryan population of India. From such prohibitions it is seen how Aryans (Brahmin law-givers) tried to protect their society from the influence of

25. *Laws of Manu*, III, 24-25, p. 55.
26. *Ibid*

the customs and social institutes of local peoples and in particular the Asuras.

It is possible to speak with certainty that the Asuras were the bearers of the ancient forms of Jainism as is done by Acharya Tulsi? Probably it is more correct to say that the cults of the Asuras entered into Jainism. The word 'Asura' is used by the Jains themselves in a sense close to the brahmanic sense i.e. as meaning the spirits of the dead wicked people but more frequently Asuras are called retinue of Tirthankaras i.e. an honourable place is given to them.[27]

It is possible that the other autochthonic people—the Bhils—who had also widely settled in ancient India practised the cults which were one of the component parts of Jainism.

A viewpoint exists in ethnography that the Bhils at one time spoke one of the Munda languages. It is considered that Nishadas, always referred to in the Epic, Puranas and other works of ancient literature were Bhils.[28] According to the geneological lists contained in the Puranas a ruler by name Nishadha (who must be understood as ethnonym) originated from Vena whom the priests killed because he restricted their power. This Vena in his turn had Anga as his father (Anga—name of an ancient state on the eastern border of modern Bihar) and his sons-in-law were sons of Sudyumna, by names Udlaka, Gaya and Vinateswa (rulers of eastern Gangetic states). Let us remember that the Sudyumna people were possibly related to the Munda family, as has been referred to above.

According to geneologists all the abovementioned persons are traced to Manu Chakshusha, who through his ancestor Dhruva (polar star) can be traced back to still distant ancestor Uttanapada. The name 'Uttanapada' can be translated as the 'Northern country'. Thus the line of Sudyumna somehow can be traced back somewhere to the north. But since we do not have weighty grounds to assume that the Munda people

27. F. Bushanan, *Particulars of the Jains;* H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras Kalpasutra*—Lives of the Jinas.

28. *Census of India 1931*, Vol. 1 Part II; C. S. Benkatachar, *Ethnological Accounts of Bhils of Central India*, pp. 51-52; T. B. Naik, *The Bhils*, pp. 11-13; A Banerji, *Archaeological History of Mewar I* (from 3rd century B.C. to 300 A.D.) pp. 316-53; R. Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 8.

or other pre-Aryan peoples of India, close to them did not appear from the northern country, we are left to think that this line of kinship, carried in the geneological lists of the Aryans speaks rather about the process of inter-breeding of local eastern Gangetic peoples with the Aryans—descendants of ancient people who had actually come sometime from the northern regions.

Thus, if Bhils—Nishads—Sudyumnas can be recognised as Mundas then precisely the faiths of this central and eastern Indian mass of tribes of Mundas must have played a significant role in the formation of Jainism.

Ethnography has not as yet established whether the Dravidians also lived in Bihar in those ancient times. Many scholars assume that precisely Dravidians formed the chief mass of the settlements of the Indus valley in the most ancient period. Judging from the legends of the Jains themselves, their religion had sometime spread beyond the borders of India, towards its west. It is interesting to note in this connection that the elements of Dravidian languages are traced back to the ancient languages of eastern shores of Africa, in several Mediterranean languages and the languages of the countries of Near East.[29]

It is possible that the Aryans ejected Dravidians from the regions lying towards the west of India or out of North India, compelled them to cross forests and mountains of Central India and push out in the south. It is also fully possible that the Dravidians marched along the Gangetic valley in the east, in the region which is of interest to us but when this actually took place is difficult to ascertain.

There is evidence that the ancestors of the strongest contemporary Dravidian people—Andhras—lived in antiquity from the shores of Jamuna to eastern Bihar and that only from the sixth century B.C. they started to move forward towards the south.[30]

29. From the latest works on this theme, refer to N Lahovary, *Dravidian Origins and the West*.

30. Y. Balaramamurthi, *Short History of the People of Andhra*, pp. 13-14; V. S. Vorobyey-Desyatovsky, *About the Role of the Substrata in the Development of Indo-Aryan Languages;* V. Ch. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 101-108, 113-18; A. Banerji, *Archaeological History of Mewar I*, pp. 352-53

A whole number of peoples lived on the territory of Bihar and near it. The monuments of ancient Indian literature unite them under the name of Eastern Anavas, tracing them to the universal ancestor Anu from the Lunar dynasty. It is interesting to turn our attention to the name of this Anu and to the assumption that many Anavas had settled in the eastern Gangetic regions, which are of interest to us in this context.

In the opinion of Pargiter, the work 'Anu' in *Rigveda* means non-Aryan. He indicates that the god of heaven Anu from Uruk was worshipped in Babylon (the god of heaven was named An in Shumer and Anu in Akkad). If we remember the Elamo-Babylonic Mediterranean connections (or ways) of the proto-Dravidians and also that the word 'ur' in Dravidian languages means 'place', 'settlement', then the suggestion is thrust on us that 'Anu' Rigvedas 'and people of Anava' can be ascribed to the Dravidians and that the very ruler Anu was included by the Aryans in the lists of Lunar dynasty with the sole intention of Aryanising individual heroes and rulers. And apparently, this was done by post-Vedic Aryans, who in the persons of their Brahman-sages and lawgivers started to manifest strong alarm in connection with the penetration of elements of spiritual culture of non-Aryan environment in the culture of first Aryan newcomers, and in their own culture.

If it is recognised that the Dravidians lived in North India, then undoubtedly their cults also must have served as sources of Jain cult—notions and rites.

While describing the ethnical map of ancient India, it is worthwhile dwelling on the Naga people (who are called people of serpents) referred to in the Vedic and Epic literature. Judging from the assumption that these people lived also in the region of Mathura, and along the Ganges, this was probably a big group of tribes in whose cult serpents occupied a prominent place. It is also known that in the middle of the first century B.C. Rajagriha or Rajgir (in modern Bihar there is a town with this name), the capital of Magadha, was the centre of worship of serpents of the cult of Naga people (or more probably Naga peoples).[31]

31. Magnificent festivals in the name of serpent-god continue in the region of Rajgriha even to this day.

The Aryans fought and also tried to assimilate the Nagas as also other autochthons of India. Instances of marriages of Aryan rulers with Naga women are quite well-known. For example, the marriage of Arjun, one of the Pandavas with Ulupi, the daughter of the ruler of Nagas is described in Mahabharat. At the same time there are also descriptions in the works of ancient Indian literature of how the Aryans offered Nagas as sacrifices, burning them alive and how they fought with them with all the means at their disposal. And although the Nagas are called partly snakes and partly half-human beings i.e. semi-mythical beings in the much later editions of these works, the fact that the Aryans had fought mercilessly against the local people, whose main cult was the cult of serpents is perfectly apparent.

In view of the fact that this cult stands hitherto highly developed amongst the Dravidians, and also amongst Bhils and Mundas, it is possible to assume that the Aryans called all the local population with which or with a significant part of which they came into collision in India, as Nagas. It is therefore not accidental that the symbol of the serpent (cobra) became one of the chief symbols in all reformative religions and in particular in Jainism. In the Jain iconology Jeena is often portrayed sitting under the inflated hood of many-headed cobra (as also Buddha in buddhist iconology and Balaram, Krishna's brother, in Krishna iconology).

One must not glass over the existence of the Pani tribe. But again it is not quite certain where this tribe had settled. It is referred to in *Rigveda* and in other Vedic literature but to which group it belonged—whether to the Dravidian or Aryan —it is as yet not possible to say definitely.

This literature tells us about the riches of Pani. A Pani is called 'ayajnic' i.e. not a sacrificer (they think of him in this way, called the Pani Dasas, as they call all non-Aryans). The Aryans fought against Pani tribe, subjugated and plundered them and turned them into slaves.

These people are described as liers, evil-doers and demons, robbers of treasures and cows.[32]

32. J. Dawson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 229; M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 580.

D. D. Kosambi considers that these people carried on trade with Aryans and that the words 'Baniya' and 'Vanik'—merchant, are of non-Sanskrit origin and can be traced back to the ethnonym Pani.[33]

Several Indian scholars express the opinion that Pani were the bearers of the 'culture of Shramana' i.e. the Jainic religion.[34]

We may fully agree with the opinion that the doctrine of ahimsa i.e. prohibition of killing of living beings, which is one of the basic prohibitions imposed by Jainism was adopted by the founders of Jainism from these Pani people as the term 'ayajnik' characterizes the cult of Pani people as a cult which is first of all, not connected with the bloody sacrifices.

The process of coming in contact with the local peoples and correspondingly the assimilating processes were especially intensive, owing to the fact that several ancient Indian states united ethnical territories of various peoples within their borders. After the republic—Janapadas (in a number of regions of India) and simultaneously with them, appeared monarchic states, ruled by Raja-Aryans, but the subjects of these rajas were mainly represented by the local peoples.

Sh. B. Chaudhuri, basing himself on Vedic, Epic, Jain and Buddhist literature, writes for example, that considerable part of the territory of modern states of Bihar and Orissa formed part of the Mahakoshal state after the reign of Rama. The other name of this country was Dakshina-Koshala—Southern Koshala.

The eastern sea-coast of modern Orissa and a part of the regions to the south of the river Mahanadi were a part of the Tosala state. Its population consisted, in the main, of the Kalinga people, whose antiquity and independence is referred to by Ashoka in his edicts and who figure as 'Impure' people (and this means non-Aryan) in the writings of Brahmin authors of the earlier period.[35]

The borders of the Kalinga state embraced at several times the territory from southern Bihar in the north to the Godavari in the south.

33. D. D. Kosambi, *Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India.*
34. R. Jain, *The Great Pani People*, pp. 131-32.
35. Sh. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India.*

To this day, the population of Bihar is anthropologically classified as exceedingly mixed. Various scholars describe it in various ways. Risley called it Aryan-Dravidian, Guha observes negro features in the members of the low castes and calls the population of Bihar Paleomediterranean. Von Eickstedt relegates them to Melanids etc.[36]

The present author heard several times in India, the opinion that the Biharis are Dravidians. It is impossible to agree with this but it speaks of the traditional attitude towards the population of Bihar as basically non-Aryan.

On a level with the already enumerated peoples, the peoples of north Bihar, speaking the languages of the Himalayan group contributed to the formation of Jainism. The connection between the population of the Himalayas and the Gangetic plains disappears with its roots in such antiquity that it is not possible to trace it.

Several historians state that the Mongoloid racial type is reflected in the sculptures of Buddhist monuments in the stupas in Bharhut and Sanchi—and from this conclude that the peoples of this type had spread in India more widely in the second-first century B.C than in the much later epoch.[37] They believe that the peoples living here were possibly Mongoloids adopting the language of the peoples of the plains in the process of communication with them,[38] although the Brahmin literature calls them Aryans.

Most interesting testimony of the Indo-Himalayan ties in which at the same time, the affirmation of the deep antiquity of the sources of Jainism can also be detected is available. An ethnic group called Thakur lives in western Nepal, whose sect is called Pen-po. Members of this sect believe in God, whom they call 'leading to the heaven' (towards the heaven)—compare the designation. 'Tirthankar'—leading or carrying the being across the ocean or the 'joined conqueror' (compare 'jeena' the conqueror). They portray this god fully naked, as the Jains their Tirthankars. The difference consists in that this god has five faces and ten hands (that is why he is called 'joined') but these faces are painted in those colours, in which

36 *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp 72-73
37. V A Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p 7.
38 S K Chatterji, *Kirata-jana-kriti*. The Indo-Mongolloids.

Jains paint the statues of their Tirthankars—blue, red, white, green and yellow. The symbol of this god is a bird, which also is the symbol of Tirthankars. The Pen-po sect also portrays their godly ancestors naked, *painting their figures* white or blue.

It is considered that the Pen-po religion can be called 'original Buddhism' but all the same, it is rather closer to Jainism. There are portrayals of Buddha, sitting on the throne, but on these thrones (as also on the pedestals of statues of Tirthankars) symbolic signs portrayals of birds and animals are marked.

Although the Pen-po religion is nearly not studied at all, it is certain that there is no idea of the creator of the world in it, as also in Jainism. Pen-po is also similar to Jainism in that vegetarianism is strictly observed. In the patterns of ornaments which they plot on the house and on the utensils and on cloth etc. Swastikas, a motif is widespread. It is also often met with on ornaments and on various things from the Indus valley and on the things belonging to Jains and on the sculptures. The Thakurs consider that the saints of their faith are 'full ascetics' who, similar to Tirthankars, lead on to the path of salvation.

It is not clear to whom this group of Nepalese population ethnically belongs. They are described as little Mongolianised Indians,[39] but they consider that their rulers come from Pandavas i.e. they trace themselves back to Indian and that too very ancient and probably pre-Aryan[40] origin. Apparently they

39. D Snellgrove, *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, p. 126.

40. The author has no doubt about the fact that the heroes of Mahabharat, the five Pandava brothers did not possess Aryan origin. First of all, their fathers are gods in the Epic—this is used as standard contrivance for Aryanisation of non-Aryan heroes, since anaemic prince Pandu, as their legitimate father cannot have posterity as a result of a curse by a sage. Moreover, their mother Kunti, judging from many signs, belonged to one of the pre-Aryan peoples, possibly one of the Dravidian peoples. She legalised the polyandric marriage of her sons. Besides, each of the sons is called 'Kaunteya' which means son of Kunti, and this confirms the belief that matriarchal lineage existed amongst the people to which Kunti belonged. In Mahabharat, a number of other distinctive indications are observed, regarding non-Aryan origin of Pandavas, one being their kinship and alliance with the dark skinned hero-god Krishna.

are actually emigrants from India and preserve to this day the most ancient forms of religious faiths which in India became the component parts of Jainism.

Probably quite a large range of Indo-Himalayan peoples was, in antiquity, the bearer of close religious ideas. It is certain that in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., caravan routes existed from Bihar to Nepal and Tibet, along which trade was carried on and the elements of the faiths of various peoples spread out along with it. The Greek, Ktesy, the late witness of the war of Artakserks II with Kir the Junior in 401 B.C. describing the inhabitants of the lower Himalayas from Bhutan to Indus, said that they maintain contacts with the population of the plains.

The English scholar F. Wilford observes that the rajas of near-Himalayan regions were probably of Nepalese origin.[41] From all this data, the picture of long and constant contacts between the populations of ancient Bihar and the Himalayas can be drawn.

From the near-Himalayan regions also comes the tribe of Chero, which was at some time strong in North-Western Bihar—the representatives of which ruled there in the course of seven generations. This tribe is sometime relegated to proto-Australoids. It is possible that Ktesy wrote precisely about them.

The ancient history of Chero is not completely studied but it is in no way possible to exclude the probability of their resistance to the settlement of the Aryans and to the forcible introduction of Aryan culture. This means that probably their cultural and ethical concepts also formed a part of the reformatory anti-Aryan ideology.

The Lichhavi tribe played a significant role in the history of Jainism, about which 'Manusmriti'[42] says that Lichhavi is born out of 'Vratya-Kshatriyas'. The linguistic and racial affiliation of this tribe is not determined by ethnography. In the ancient Indian literature, it is referred to as an independent and proud tribe.

Lichhavi, along with the not less known tribes of the first

41. F. Wilford, *Anu-Gangam or the Gangetic Provinces and More Particularly of Magadha*, p. 71.

42. 'Laws of Manu', X, 22.

half of the first millennium B.C., such as the Malla, Vrijji (vajji), Shakya, Koliya and Bhagga created so-called republican states. Lichhavi constituted a part of the confederation of eight tribes—Atthakul (eight kinships) and the confederation of the Vajji, which existed in the course of several centuries.

The territory of the last-mentioned embraced approximately the contemporary North Bihar and part of Nepal but its borders went on changing. There is a mention of the Brahmins being peasants in the villages belonging to the Kshatriyas[43] in north Bihar and this means that they did not play there a noticeable role.

Here in the republics in Bihar, the original population of which consisted of tribes mentioned above, anti-Brahmanic reaction was at its highest. All land, property, slaves—belonged to the Kshatriyas.[44] This confirms our suggestion that the conception Kshatriya, as mentioned in Chapter I covered all the males, related by blood of the family-kin group. If the Kshatriyas had represented the narrow privileged caste, then commanding top of the army could be made up out of them only and the ordinary warriors would be simple people.

If one agrees with the idea that the doctrine of reformatory faiths was formed in Bihar, absorbing many elements of the cults and faiths of the local, pre-Aryan tribes of north India, then it is worth while acknowledging that these elements went on accumulating gradually before adopting the form of new religious-philosophic-ethical system. This gradual assimilation, this fusion of religious and cult-ideas of quite a number of abovementioned tribes must have started in all probability in north west India, i.e. where Aryans first appeared, as an expression of their protest against the forcible introduction of religious codes and laws of Brahmanism, foreign to them.

The extent of ideological and cult-ideas, which the local tribes advanced against this influence, which to them signified a forcible assimilation grew in proportion to the extent of settlement of Aryans in the valley of the Ganges and the Jamuna and the growth of resistance of the local peoples to

43. D. R. Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India.*
44. *Ibid.*

their penetration and ideological influence.

Many elements of the customary rights of local peoples and their traditions formed a part of these ideas. Thus, affirmation of anti-Vedic Krishnaism was evident in the region of Mathura, which was connected with the existence of institutes of matrilineal succession. Here, amongst tribes, who had developed institutes of matriarchy, a protest arose against the humiliating position, leading women to the patriarchal society of the Aryans. And this was later accepted by Jainism.

It is evident that the gradual rise of separate elements of Jainism was reflected in the teaching of Jains about the existence of the 23 Tirthankars, who created and preached that *religion even before Mahavir Jina.*

It is interesting to make an attempt to trace the geography of the spread of the initial form of Jainism according to the given Jain legends.

It is considered that the first of these 24 Tirthankars Rishabha, who lived immeasurably long, long ago, performed the ascetic feat in Prayag (Allahabad); the 16th, 17th and 18th Tirthankars (Shanti, Kunthi and Ara) reached 'enlightenment' in Hastinapur (near the modern city of Meerut); 23rd Tirthankar (Parshvanath or Parshva)[45] was born, lived and preached in Kashi (Benaras) and finally the 24th Tirthankar (Mahavir) was born in the East, in Vaishali.

Of course all these beliefs are not historically exact but all the same, they afford the possibility of carrying the line from the Jamuna-Gangetic delta from Kashi and farther to the East.

Kashi was historically closely connected with east Gangetic states and since long was the cultural centre, widely known in these states. Probably their intercourse with the western regions took place mainly by waterways, along with the Ganges, and Kashi, lying on the bank developed first of all, as trade centre. The waterway also went into the border of ancient Koshal

45. V. A. Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p 271. Many scholars consider Parshva, the son of the ruler of Kashi as historical personage (N. K. Sinha); A. Ch. Banerji, *History of India*, p. 47; *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 125; and assume that he lived 250 years before Mahavir and his teachings were contiguous to the teachings about self-abjugation, known in Bihar nearly 800 years B.C. (*Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 125.)

(the inhabitants of which, as the inhabitants of Kashi, are called non-Aryans in the Puranas).[46]

Possibly the initial forms of Jainism marched forward from west to east, through Kashi and by the time of Mahavir's birth, new religious faith reached the confederation of Vajji, and it developed and completed its development there.

In the Puranas, it is said that the first Tirthankar, Rishabha performed acts of Yoga, which were incomprehensible to the people (possibly it should be read, to the Aryans) and he was subjected to persecution. He left for the south, and preached there. After his death, Arhan (the word means a Jain ascetic), one of the southern rulers, founded the sect but the people who *adopted this new teaching started for the underworld.*[47]

At the same time, Rishabha was included in the Brahmanic pantheon in the form of one of the incarnations of the God Vishnu. This circumstance, and also the name Tirthankar, which bears Sanskrit character, confirms the idea that the Aryans had also participated in the development of early forms of Jainism.

46. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purana Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 2-3.

47. J. N. Bannerjea, *The Puranic Account of Rishabhadeva and Buddha*, p. 56.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF JAINISM IN BIHAR

(Ancient Period of History of Jainism)

THE community which was founded by the 23rd Tirthankar, Parshva (or Parshvanath) was called 'Nirgrantha' (or Niggantha), which means 'free from fetters' (from attachments). Both men and women could be members of the community.

Parshva preached four truisms, adherence to which can, according to his teachings, secure cognition. Those are: not to kill, not to steal, no attachment to earthly things, and complete truthfulness. For securing salvation, he prescribed strict asceticism.

All the members of the community were divided in 'laymen' (Shravaka-men and Shravika-women) and 'Ascetics' (yati, muni or sadhu—males and arjika or sadhvi—females). These four groups had their leaders, who observed the conduct of their members and this means that the community had a clear-cut organisation. Thus admittedly, Jainism as a system of religious and ethical views and likewise as a community of Jains was formed long before Mahavir Jeena became the head of the community.

According to Jain legends, Mahavir was born in the beginning of the sixth century B.C.[1] on the territory of Bihar. As regards Mahavir's father, it is said that he belonged to a

1. Contradictory versions exist about the time of birth and death of Mahavir. According to the latest data, he was born in 599 B.C. and died in 527 B.C. He was the senior contemporary of Buddha, who was born in 582 B.C. and died (submerged in Nirvana) in 502 B.C. (Muni Shri Nagrajji, *The Contemporaneity and the Chronology of Mahavir and Buddha*, pp. 174-75). But the date of death of Mahavir is traced back to 477 and 487 B.C. (*Bihar Through the Ages*, p 128).

kinship which was equal among the equal ruling Kshatriya kinships', in Kumdagamma, near to Veshali (capital of the Vaishali republic). Mahavir's mother belonged to the Lichhavi tribe.

Mahavir added one more precept to the four precepts of his predecessor Parshva. This precept was expectation of complete chastity. In the course of 12 years he performed ascetic feats, living without clothes and almost without food. At the age of 42, he secured 'enlightenment' and until his death was the spiritual head of the community.

He was very active in propagating Jainism and noticeably extended the borders of the community. During his life and after his death, this religion was widely known in the territory of modern Varanasi (Kashi or Banaras), Bihar and West Bengal. The rulers of many eastern Gangetic states supported Jainism and encouraged the spread of Jainism.

The Jain monks were not tied to monasteries, as the Buddhist monks. Nude ascetics lived in forests, in mountains and in caves (the monks lived compulsorily separate from the nuns); but usually near towns and settlements, so that the laymen-Jains paid respect to their ascetic feats and learnt from them.

Strict conjugal loyalty, observance of the five basic precepts (they were required to live one day in a month, as monks), restrictions regarding worldly enjoyments, and support to the community[2]—those were the claims made on the laymen.

One of the reasons why Jainism is more steadfast to life in comparison to Buddhism is the close contact of monks with laymen.

Mahavir had 11 pupils, but only two of them—Sudharman and Indrabhuti—survived their teacher. Sudharman continued to preach the faith. From him the canon was adopted by his pupil, Jambuswami, who is considered the last of the teachers of Jainism. He secured the state of enlightenment and became 'keval'. From Jambuswami canon was transferred (it was transformed by word of mouth) in turn to the four heads of the Jain temples. The last amongst them, Bhadrabahu, started for south of India during the rule of Chandragupta Maurya and it seems reached Ceylon (Lanka). In the Buddhist 'Maha-

2. *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 127-28.

vamsha', it is said that when the son and daughter of Ashok Maurya went to Ceylon to preach Buddhism, they saw Jain ascetics there.[3]

Soon after Mahavir's death, a split started in the community. With the spread of the religion in new regions, its preachers started to incorporate their own in the unwritten Jain canon, and serious differences arose amongst them. Out of several sects, which arose, two sects played great role in the whole of the history of Jainism and continue to do so even at present. These sects are Digambara and Shvetambara.

The Digambara sect is closer to initial Jainism. First of all, it stands for the ritualistic nudity (the very word 'digambara' means 'clothed in space' or 'clothed in cardinal points') and demands that the images of Tirthankars should not be even adorned. The Shvetambaras i.e. 'clothed in white' protest against full nudity and do not insist on the images of Tirthankars without ornaments.

The Digambaras are more orthodox also in regard to austerity of the ascetics. They consider that a human being, having reached the 'path of salvation', 'the condition of enlightenment' or 'keval-jnana' does no longer need food and drink and must completely forget all about his body. The Shvetambaras do not agree with this.

In the third century B.C. in Pataliputra an all-Jain synod was held and the first version of the written canon was prepared. The Digambaras do not accept this canon, affirming that the real ancient canon, created according to the legend by Rishabha is lost. The Shvetambaras adhere to the canon which was accepted in Pataliputra and consider it the right one.

Digambaras do not agree that Mahavir was married and elevate chastity to the level of a dogma of his whole life. Shvetambaras consider that he was married but assume that he became a real ascetic only after he left his family at the age of 30.

As distinct from Shvetambaras, Digambaras consider that a woman cannot secure full freedom on way to salvation (as regards this notion, the Shvetambaras are nearer to the teaching of Mahavir than Digambaras).

3. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 180.

Amongst both the Digambaras and the Shvetambaras, there are castes but the former do not observe caste-restrictions. When marriages are effected, they regard their set as one common sect. Shvetambaras adopt rather more caste prohibitions and observe caste endogamy.

The friendship of Mahavir with Makhali Gosala, the head of anti-brahmin sect of Ajivikas, who came from slave origin, speaks of the great liberalism of ancient Jainism and possibly of active counteraction to it.[4]

Mahavir travelled with him for six years,[5] preaching the truth about the futility of reliance on the posthumous life of the soul, about uselessness of sacrificial offerings and about the necessity for the ascetic to expose his body. This preaching was *similar to the teaching of Ajivikas.*

Many a scholar considered that Mahavir and Buddha were one and the same person and Buddhism and Jainism were two branches of the same teaching, out of which Buddhism originated earlier.[6]

Herman Jacobi, a profound scholar of Jain and Buddhist literature thoroughly compared all legends connected with Mahavir and Buddha and also the basic tenets of their teachings and showed that they preached independently of each other (although in the historically close period).

According to Jacobi, similarity in names of the parents of Mahavir and Buddha testifies to the fact that such names were very much widespread amongst Kshatriyas.

The facts of lives of both, as described in the works of ancient Indian literature are completely different. Thus, Jacobi writes that Buddha and Mahavir were born in different geographical spots (let us add: and also at different periods). Buddha's mother died soon after his birth. Mahavir's parents lived for 30 years after his birth. Buddha became an ascetic against the will of his father and when he was alive, Mahavir became an ascetic after his father's death and with the consent of Kshatriyas. Buddha was a devotee for six years, Mahavir, twelve years. Buddha did not appreciate the ascetic feats (neither his own nor of others). Mahavir considered that these were

4. D. R. Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India.*
5. *Bihar Through the Ages,* p. 131.
6. Refer to, for example, Bart, *Religions of India.*

necessary (to this day the Jain ascetics spend 12 years as devotees for 'securing perfection'). In the early Buddhism, worship of statues and other portrayals of preachers of religion was censured. In Jainism, such worship was always taken for granted. The names of Buddha's pupils do not coincide with those of Mahavir. The two died at different times and at different places.[7]

Moreover, the word 'Tirthankar' (boatman across the ocean of existence), used by the Jains as the most venerable epithet for their ancient preachers of religion, signifies in Buddhism founders of heretics. The fact that amongst both Buddhists and Jains such epithets as buddha, sarvajnya (all-knowing), mukta (liberated), jeena (conqueror) etc. were prevalent, only shows that these attributes, applied to religious preachers, were widespread. Besides, Jacobi observes that Buddhists used one group of such attributes, while Jains preferred other ones.

Many scholars (Colebrooke, Radhakrishnan, etc.) attempt to show that Jainism existed before Buddhism.[8] Colebrooke justifies his viewpoint by saying that the teaching of Jains about the existence of soul in each living being is traced back to primitive animism.

Jacobi considers that although the Buddhist and Jain Com munities arose and developed independently of each other, they borrowed much from Brahmin ascetics, not only from philosophy and moral prescriptions, but also from the custom of using the same obligatory things. It is true, he makes a reservation there viz., that the author of the Sanskrit treatise Baudhayana' in which all the prescriptions to the ascetics are collected, lived after Buddha (and this also means after Mahavir).[9]

In order to express her disagreement with the viewpoint that the Brahmanic ascetics served as an example for the creation of Jain monastic community, and to express her own reflections in this context, the writer of the present book had already cited all the proofs which were accessible to her.

7. H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part I.

8. H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, p. 276; S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, Moscow 1956, p. 245.

9. H. Jacobi, *op. cit.*, Part I, Introduction, pp. XXV, XXX, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXIX.

Many rulers of ancient Bihar rendered patronage to the Jain community, which possibly testifies to the long acquaintance of its population with Jainism. Chetaka, the most famous ruler of Lichhavi gave his sister Trisala to Jain Siddhartha in marriage, and from this marriage Mahavir was born. Representatives of the dynasty of Shaishunaga (sixth century B.C.)—Bimbisara and Ajatshatru—were, according to legend, related to Mahavir and professed Jainism. The members of the Nanda dynasty (fifth-sixth centuries B.C.) were Jains. According to Jain legends Chandragupta Maurya was also a Jain[10] and lived as an ascetic for 12 years and died in Shravanbelgol in Mysore. Some others consider that Ashoka Maurya also professed Jainism in youth[11] and introduced this religion in Kashmir (confirmation of this is found in the Kashmirian chronicle 'Rajatarangini').[12] Samprati, grandson of Ashoka greatly contributed to the spread of Jainism.[13]

Kharavela the illustrious ruler of the Kalinga state (whose people knew Jainism from the times of Parshva, i.e. from the eighth century B.C.), living in the second century B.C. was one of the warmest patrons of Jainism. In Kalinga, Jainism was known as far back as the eighth century B.C.[14] and evidently, it penetrated in southern India through Kalinga.

This religion had spread also in Bengal before the seventh century A.D. Suan Tsyan writes that there were many nude ascetics, called 'nirgrantha' (even at present in several places in Bengal statues of Tirthankaras are worshipped but they are called not Jeena but Bhairav i.e. Shiva).[15]

Thus we see that this religious faith had spread widely in the first millennium B.C. precisely in the eastern regions of India, populated mainly by non-Aryan peoples. But the establishment of Aryan domination, the spread of the institution of varna and caste-structure and also the institution of Brahmanism, led to the departure of Jains and their religious teachers

10. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 154; P. Thomas, *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, p. 186.
11. E. Thomas, *Early Faith of Ashoka*.
12. V. A. Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p. 379.
13. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
14. V. A. Sangave, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

from Bihar. The teaching of Digambaras spread in South India and of Shvetambaras mainly in North India and gradually became more known in its western regions.

Suan Tsyan observes that in the seventh century A.D., Jainism was strong only in the homeland of Mahavir, i.e. in Vaishali[16] but in the succeeding centuries Brahmanism forced it out from there also and this religion was practically forgotten in the eastern regions of India.

16. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 131.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF JAINISM OUTSIDE BIHAR

(Medieval Period)

In ethnography it is generally accepted that Jainism started spreading in south India from the third century B.C. i.e. since the time when Bhadrabahu a preacher of this religion and the head of monks' community came to Karnatak from Bihar.

But there also exists another viewpoint, viz. that Jainism was known here long before the arrival of Bhadrabahu and that he only infused new life in this old religion.[1] The adherents of God Shiva knew and accepted from Jainism much, which was already known to them from religious teachings—ascetism, the yoga-asana posture, protection to animals, etc.

In the course of the first century A.D., Jainism spread along south India quite intensively and smoothly. It was widely known in the empire of Satavahanas (whose fall is dated in the third century A.D.) and availed the patronage of rulers of Ganga dynastics (second to eleventh centuries), early Kadamba (fourth to sixth centuries), Chalukya (sixth to eighth centuries), Pallava (fifth to ninth centuries) and other dynasties.[2] Many rulers built Jain temples and monasteries and set up kitchens for feeding monks.[3]

The modified Brahmanism, as applied to local conditions became during this period a widely known religious system. Departing from the worship of a majority of Vedic gods, and forbidding to a significant degree sacrifices of animals, Hinduism in the main adopted in this epoch the form of Bhagvatism (from Bhagvat—deity) i.e. the upper deities were set apart from

1. K. P. Jain, *The Antiquity of Jainism in South India*, pp. 512-16.
2. B. N. Luniya, *History of Indian Culture;* K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, pp. 68-69.
3. K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, *op. cit.*

the innumerable gods of Hinduism, as though they were the heads of the pantheon. Gods Shiva and Vishnu, became the chief objects of worship of Bhagvats in south India. And thus two main currents—Shivaism and Vishnuism—took shape in Hinduism.

This was the early epoch of bhakti, the religious movement in Hinduism, calling for unlimited, self-renouncing love towards the deity Shiva or Vishnu.

Bhakti-Shivayats (i.e. the fanatic adherents of Shivaism) known by the name of Nayanars and Bhakti-Vishnuits (Alvars) composed hymns in praise of these gods. These hymns serve for the historians as a great and extremely interesting section of literature of the early Middle Ages in south India.

From these sources it can be seen that enmical relations sprung up between the Jain community and Bhakti-Hinduists in the south towards the middle of the first millennium A.D.

The Jain religion-preachers founded a monastery in the district of South Arcot (modern state of Madras), and named it Pataliputra—evidently in memory of one of the northern strongholds of this religion. The monks in Pataliputra converted a wide strata of local population into Jainism, including several strong rulers of south Indian states, as for example, Mahendravarman of the Pallava dynasty (beginning of the seventh century A.D.).

This monastery was not the only influential centre of Jainism in the south. The Jain monasteries in Puhar, Urapur, Madurai and in a number of other places in south India acquired fame in the first half of the first millennium A.D.[4]

It is evident that rivalry due to influence of the Jains on the rulers and also due to economic benefits (struggle for land, donated to monasteries and temples for rich contributions etc.) served as one of the reasons for the enmity between the communities.

The fight between the Jains and the Bhakts sometimes led not only to public disputes (in those disputes, the defeated were to adopt the faith of the winner) or to contests in demonstrating 'miracles' but also to mass executions of Jains,[5] instigat-

4. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, *Earliest Jain and Buddhist Teaching in the Tamil Country*, p. 42.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

ed by the Brahmin advisers who had influence on the rulers.

There is evidence that in Maharashtra, the Jains were subjected to fierce attacks from groups of local population, led by persons known by the name of Bhairavs.[6] This name shows that those groups of population were evidently 'Shaivas' since the word 'Bhairav' is one of the names of Shiva.

In the temple of goddess Minakshee in the town of Madurai (state of Madras) there are frescoes on which mass execution of Jains are carved. Here, even at present, on the day of annual festival of this goddess, a picture of a Jain, impaled, is carried in procession.[7]

The chief reason for such enmity was those social-economic changes, which made their appearance with the development of feudal relations. There are no indications of such intense enmity between the communities until the beginning of the Gupta epoch. New social strata (and first of all, feudal rulers) rising in the Gupta epoch, and after that epoch i.e. in the period of growth of feudalism, made reformatory Brahmanism-Hinduism, its own ideological banner. This was Hinduism in the form of the early bhakti. It meant adherence only to supreme god. And then started active attacks on the bearers of the old forms of ideology which was attended by those social-economic relations, destined to disappear from historical arena, since they were closely tied with the epoch of formation of class relations.

The victim of this fight was Buddhism, which could not adopt itself to new social-economic conditions and was practically forced out from India towards the eighth-ninth centuries A.D. Jainism, as a religious faith, distinguished itself by its great simplicity and closeness to practical life of the people. It also probably possessed in a greater measure, roots stretching into the thickness of the faiths of ancient peoples and therefore could withstand this conflict.

It is certain that Jain preachers (Acharyas) ordained the members of the community to adhere to the customs of every people, amongst whom they lived (if only these customs did not happen to contradict the basic principles of Jainism). Thus

6. V. A. Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p. 102.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

two types of religious-ritual practice came into being in case of every Jain. Those types were 'Laukika' (worldly), practical and 'Paralaukika' (only for the soul).[8] Not only pilgrimage, but also productive activity formed part of the Laukika.

It is difficult to say whether there was common profession for all the members of the ancient Jain community. All the tasks connected with the destruction of living beings or with causing harm to them were considered as prohibited. That is why Jains reject for example, agriculture, assuming that while ploughing fields, one caused harm to various living beings. But precisely in which period Jains rejected agriculture is not known. Evidently this religious teaching, mainly spread in the environments of cities even in ancient times.

In Karnataka, there existed only one caste called 'Chaturtha' amongst the Jains. This caste is engaged in agriculture.[9] This might call forth the suggestion that members of some strong agricultural caste of a given locality sometime adopted Jainism and continued to engage themselves with agriculture because it was difficult for numerically big groups of people to change the profession in a short time and to settle in the towns for the occupation of trade or usury.

Proceeding from the fact that the activity of trading and usury is the traditional occupation of the Jains in the course of many centuries, it is possible to assume that Jains concentrated on this occupation all their efforts in the period of the blossoming of feudalism. If the Jain-monks lived in the monasteries and cloisters outside the cities, then the Jain-laymen were mainly concentrated in cities. Evidently, the high degree of their influence on many rulers can be explained precisely by the fact that they granted big loans and financed one or another enterprise.

The epoch of early feudalism, development of handicrafts and trade must have objectively facilitated the consolidation of Jainism and helped it to withstand the blows from the side of Hinduism.

Already in the Gupta epoch, many cities (Mathura, Vallabhi, Pundravardhana, Udayagiri, Mysore, Kanchi and others, in

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 406-407.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

which handicrafts and trade flourished) were well known as big centres of Jainism. In the year 453 A.D., an all-Jain synod was convened in the city of Vallabhi for amending and fixing canonical texts. This testifies to the fact that this religion had consolidated itself in the early Middle Ages and it had spread in south and west India. During this period, many commentaries on these texts were written, forming a great section of Jain literature.

However, development of feudalism (and in the sphere of ideology the process of formation of Hinduism) was inseparable from the development and consolidation of caste structure. The Jain community adopted this feature of social-economical and ideological life of India and gradually castes, adopting many restrictions and prohibitions, which existed in Hindu castes took shape in Jainism also.

The ability of the Jain community to adopt to changing historical conditions can be explained by the well known liberalism of Jain canon and the entire structure of the community. Jain preachers did not oppose changes, which time introduced in the organization of the community. As also in antiquity, the community did not shut its door to anybody.

The significant reason for the formation of Jain castes in this period was the mass conversion of Hindus to Jainism in those states, the rulers of which, gave patronage to the Jain community or themselves became Jains. These newly converted preserved within the framework of the new religion their previous tenor of life, based on caste-structure.

The division of the community into castes, finally taking place mainly in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries added to the division into four varnas, which had already originated in the ancient (in Bihar) period of development of Jainism. Jain castes proper arose in the main according to the local indications—according to the place of settlement of one or another group of Jains. This is corroborated by the fact that the place of formation of many Jain castes is definitively known.[10] This place is the cities in an overwhelming majority of cases.

In north and west India, merging of Hindu and Jain com-

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-14.

munities was especially active. Here in the edifice of many Jain castes, there are groups, professing Vishnuism, and in the edifice of many Hindu castes, there are components which are registered as jains.[11] In the south, its own castes were formed in the Jain community, and those castes as a whole, fell apart from the Hindu community.

Here the names of Jain castes are not met with in the edifice of Hindu castes. Possibly this shows that the process of formation of Jain community in the south took place on the basis of greater isolation from Hindu community, in which, as is known, the early Bhakti sect attained high development. In this, the struggle between communities, which is referred to above is also reflected. The struggle did not cease even in the first half of the second millennium A.D. It is known that Jains complained to the ruler of Vijaynagar, Bukkarai about oppression from the side of Vishnuits and he commanded in 1368 both the communities to end enmity and to profess their own faiths peacefully.[12]

Southern Jains do not have recourse to the services of the Brahmins, as Jains from the north and west do, and have their own Upaddhyayas (priests) serving within their own community.

In the ninth-fifteenth centuries the south Indian Jain-Digambaras were called 'Panchamas' (the fifth) i.e. those who are placed outside the framework of the four varnas of Jainism. It is true there is another interpretation of this name and that is that in the fifth group amongst Jains, there are only those members of the community who acknowledge marriages of widows,[13] because of which other groups of Jains regard the pancham as the 'lowest' group. In order to free themselves from their low position, many panchams merged into Shaivaite sect of Lingayats, who did not acknowledge the caste restrictions.

It is considered that much of the ethical teaching and philosophy of Lingayats is borrowed from the Jains.[14] The majority of Lingayats, as also the Jains, are traders and usurers, which fact serves as direct confirmation of extensive conversion of

11. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
12. K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
13. V. A. Sangave, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 107.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Jains into Lingayats. In the course of several centuries the Jains and the Lingayats lived together peacefully but in the sixteenth century, during the rule of Raya dynasty in Vijaynagar, conflicts took place between them. Thus Krishnadeo Raya ordered severe punishment to the head of the Lingayat community, because he killed several priests of the Jain sect of Shvetambaras.[15]

One can see all-around in the south, the statues of Tirthankars, and Jain temples, testifying to the extensive spread of their religion here over long period of time. In various regions of south India, centres of Jainism were formed but the chief amongst them was the centre in Shravanbelgol in the State of Mysore (where, according to legend, Bhadrabahu who came here a short time before his death, died).

From the thirteenth century Jainism in south India started to decline. In this period anti-feudal movement, the religious ideological expression of which was the teaching of Bhakti (especially the Vishnuite bhakti) started growing. It embraced wide strata of the rural population and the urban handicraftsmen. This movement was so extensive that many representatives of other religious communities joined it. A great number of Jains turned to Vishnuism and the Jain community not only decreased numerically but also lost its influence.

Finally, the Hinduised rulers of south India States ceased to patronise the Jains.

During the period of Mohammedan conquests and especially after the fall of Vijaynagar empire (end of sixteenth century) the Jain community in the south practically lost all its positions.

In north India Mathura, Ujjain and Rajputana were the centres of Jainism (mainly of the Shvetambara sect) in the medieval period. Mathura, was since a long time, a trading city and during the rule of the Satavahan dynasty it turned into one of the main centres of trade with the western countries. Here Jain merchants concentrated, generously subsidising the erection of Jain monasteries and temples in the course of many centuries.

In the north and the north-west, as also in the south, conflicts sometimes flared up between Hindu and Jain communities.

15. K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27.

The incidents of destruction of Jain temples and their alterations as Hindu temples are known. Also incidents of persecutions and executions of Jains are known.[16]

During the rule of the Mohammedan dynasties, Jains were not subjected to persecution. This can be explained by the fact that they held in their hands many key positions in taxation-fiscal department, in trade and usury and also gave loans to the Moghuls.[17] Jains were rich and influential and precisely in this period built from their own resources richest temples in Rajputana and Gujarat, which are famous in the whole world. The Jains profited by the patronage of many Rajput kings and were ministers at their court. These Jains who were engaged in trade and usury in Rajputana and Gujarat formed the basis of the communities which was later known by the name of Marwari (from the place of its formation—Marwar).

They did not only engage in trade, usury and in granting big loans to Rajput feudals but also in collecting taxes in buying up handicraft products, in extensively transporting and re-selling and in granting credits in other regions of India and in other similar operations.[18]

16. V. A. Sangave, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-410.
17. V. I. Pavlov, *Formation of India Bourgeoise*, pp. 40, 45-46.
18. A. I. Chicherov, *Economic Development of India Before British Conquest*, p. 162.

CHAPTER V

PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF JAINISM

It is considered that as distinct from the Vedic religion, Jainism is not an 'apaurusheya' (man-made) religion, i.e. it does not possess divine origin. This teaching was created by persons, each one of them is known as a Jeena, i.e. a conqueror (removing all the obstacles on way to salvation) or a Tirthankar—boatman across the current (of existence).

The basic principles of Jainism are the following:

1. Initially every human soul is invested with an envelope of materialistic particles called karmas, attaching it to impure earthly tasks.
2. Every human being must strive for liberation from this dependence and for achieving perfection of the condition of soul, in which it acquires four new qualities, unlimited faith, unlimited knowledge, unlimited force and unlimited bliss.
3. A human being must hold the material envelope under control of his soul, since only after complete mastery over the envelopes binding force, the soul can reach perfection.
4. A human being can reach perfection by his own efforts. Nobody can help him on this path. Everyone carries full measure of responsibility for all that he does.[1] This last principle objectively rejects God.

The basis of Jain philosophy is faith in the objective existence of two categories (conceptions)—Jiva (living) and Ajiva (without living), which are uninterrupted interaction, giving rise to the phenomenon of life.[2]

1. J. L. Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 195-96.
2. Warren, *Jainism*, pp. 50-51.

A human being can accomplish the feat of stopping this interaction and of liberating itself gradually from the attractions of all that relates to Ajiva and can accomplish the feat of securing the condition of Moksha—complete freedom, salvation.

For securing Moksha, every Jain must efficiently master the thought of the seven so-called Tattvas: (1) living (spirit), (2) non-living (matter), (3) penetration of matter into the soul, (4) connection of the matter with the soul, (5) mastering of this penetration by the soul, (6) liberation from the influence of matter, and (7) moksha.

Jiva (we will translate it as soul) is wholly eternal and intransient, but it consists of innumerable multitudes of individual souls, invested in most varied material envelopes or bodies. These may be bodies of people, animals, insects and even plants. There are categories of beings manifesting only one sense, one aspect of soul—touch. These are immovable—'Sthavara' (these are plantations, air, water, fire, land). There are beings—'Trasa' i.e. movable. Amongst them, there are those who have two senses: touch and taste (for example, worms), and who have three senses: touch, taste and smell (beetle), who have four senses: touch, taste, smell and sight (bee), who have five senses—the above four and hearing (peoples, animals and birds).

In as much as the existence of soul in every living being is acknowledged, the doctrine of ahimsa i.e. nonviolence, absence of injury to life is adhered to in the strictest possible manner.

This doctrine prescribed absence of injury even to plants and those beings, which possess only one sense. But in as much as such a prescription is not compatible, say, with agricultural practice, Jain preachers introduce the explanation that only conscious harm to living beings is strictly prohibited but harm which is caused by necessity is not.[5]

Five conceptions form a part of the category of Ajiva i.e. non-living. Pudgala—matter, Dharma—means, environments, stimulating movement or action, Adharma—means or environment, stimulating absence of movement (for example, land), Akasha—expanse and Kala (time).

5. "Jainism", Shri Vallabh Suri Jain Literature Series, Pushpa, 2, pp. 9-10

All these are primordial and in their essense are unchangeable. Only conditions can change, in which they manifest themselves.

Consciousness is originally natural to each soul but the material karmas, giving birth to various barriers disturb the finding of real knowledge.

Cognition can be secured by means of feelings, and mind and by means of soul, which has liberated itself from karma (this is the highest form of cognition).[4]

The soul, having secured the condition of perfection-kevala can cognize the real nature of all things; it can accept everything relatively and conditionally in the remaining steps of path to salvation.

Every affirmation is not absolute but relative and this was given rise by the objective condition of each real existing substance, since with the substance there are two basic groups of indications: unchanged and changing (accidental). All indications exist in reality.

Changing indications are connected with uninterrupted cycle of birth and destruction, while the unchanged indications are the cause of uninterrupted existence of real substance.

All substances, with the exception of time (kala) possess extent in space. Soul is also related to the category of substances, having extent in space, but with the reservation that it exists in it but does not fill it and can be combined simultaneously with other substances (let us say with other soul).[5]

Individual qualities, inherent in every human soul are conditioned by the influence of all karmas on the souls of preceding generations. Dependence on karmas engenders passions, which should be mastered. On this path the competence of the 24 preachers (Jinas)—who are called Tirthankars—boatmen across the current (existence or passions), can be helped. They are called Tirthankars because of this only.

Correct faith, correct cognition and correct conduct are known, because of this, as three jewels (triratna) in the ethics of the Jains.[6]

4. S. Chatterjee & D. Datta, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, p. 74.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

All that exists was eternal and would remain eternal. There was no creator of the universe, similar to Hindu gods Brahma and Prajapati.

Time is divided in three eras—past, present and future. In every era lived 24 Tirthankars. In the Jain scripture 'Kalpasutra' and in the glossary 'Abhidhana Chintamani' composed in the twelfth century by the Jain acharya. Hemchandra and in a number of other works, the life and selflessness of these Tirthankars and the miracles, which they performed, are described. The continuity of their life is measured in units, called 'sea of years', which is equal to one trillion units of time, called 'palya' and they are equal to the time, necessary for ravaging a big cave, filled with trimmed hair, taking out one hair at a time in a century.[7] And only about the last but one Tirthankar (Parshva), it is said that he became an ascetic at the age of 30 and reached perfection at the age of 70. These realistic figures testify according to our opinion to the fact of his existence as a historical person whose memory preserved towards the time of the blossoming of Jainism and creation of its canon.

Each era consists of six epochs, called 'ara'. In the course of these epochs, humanity passes the path of great happiness to great grief and again to great happiness. In the first five aras, people become huge and strong and live for long. But by the sixth ara, growth of people decreases to one cubit and the continuity of life reaches up to 16 years. In the following six aras everything passes in the reverse order.

In deep antiquity human beings received all that was necessary for life from the godly trees.[8] All people were equal. Happiness reigned everywhere. But the trees gradually started giving less and less fruits and humanity was threatened with ruin. At this time, the first Tirthankar Rishabha appeared. Having given laws, knowledge, sword, agriculture, trade, cattle-breeding and ink, he saved the people.[9] He created books on sciences and religions but the language of these books was

7 This information is cited from the works of F Bushanan, *Particulars of the Jains*, N T Colebrooke, *Observations on the Sect of Jains.*

8 Analogical legends exist amongst the Dravidian hill tribes, in particular with Kadar tribe, living in north Kerala (W. Ruben, *Uberlegung zur Geschicte der Religion*, p 213)

9 I. Minayevi, *Information About Jains and Buddhists.*

forgotten. They are, however, retold in various languages. His son ruled in Bharatkshetra i.e. in India[10] (it is not possible to explain from Jain legends, in which territory life of the society was going on up to this time).

It is not difficult to discover in this legend an attempt at original interpretation of the most ancient history of humanity from the stage of primitive community, existing mainly by collectivism, until the period of class relations.[11]

According to Jain notion there are several worlds, situated one above the other. Thus there are two lower worlds, where demons of various categories live. In the lowest world 15 categories of demons live, they subject the souls of sinners to torments. In the following world also, demons and spirits live. The spirits are called 'bhavanpati' and demons are divided in two groups—black (vyantara) and white (vana vyantara). Those who are regarded as spirits and semi-gods in Hinduism (for example, yaksha and gandharva) are also called demons. Also those who are called demons in Hinduism (pishachcha or rakshasa) are designated as demons.

The middle world is situated above the two lower worlds. In this world there is land with all its inhabitants. According to ancient geography of Jainism, the middle world consists of eight wheel-like continents, separated by oceans and in the centre the holy mountain of Meru is situated.

There is also an upper world, where gods and the holies live; this world is near the summit of the mountain Meru.

Above everything, on the very summit of the mountain Meru, the Zenith of the universe—Siddha shila is situated. Here in sparkling eternity, the Siddhas who have liberated their souls lead their lives.

The souls of those peoples, who are nearer to perfection and

10. Retold from the article: 'Notices of the Jains received from Charukirti Acharya, their chief Pontiff at Belligola, Mysore''.

11. It is true, that it is hardly possible to connect Rishabha with the period of the beginning of class relations. Jain legends say that marriages between brothers and sisters were widespread during his life-time, that he himself was married to his sister and gave two of his sons—Bahubali (Goutameshwer) and Bharat—in marriage to his own two daughters (V. A. Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p 162). This myth enables us to accommodate the notion about Rishabha in much more ancient stage of development of the society.

called devatas live down the summit of mountain Meru, in the heaven—swarga. They serve the Siddhas. Here the Hindu gods—Indra, Shiva, Brahma, Hanuman, Ganesh and others and also Buddha live, they being devatas. It is considered that God Vishnu, after his incarnation as Rama became a Siddha. Hindu gods are usually portrayed in the Jain temples in the form of small figures, standing humble pose before the portrayals of Tirthankars and Siddhas.

Several Hindu deities have found a place as god-patrons or god-protectors of Tirthankars. Most probably the striving of the Jain community to popularise its own religion widely is reflected in their admission of Hindu gods.

The goddess-mother cult made its appearance in Jainism. It was very difficult to accommodate this cult with the teaching of strict ascetism. Buddhism could not overpower the force of this most ancient cult and it found a place in Buddhism in the form of Tantrik Buddhism. In Jainism, another solution was found—the place of goddess-mother was taken by goddess-messengers (shasana devi). Every Tirthankar has his own goddess-messenger, connecting him with the world of the mortals. Goddess Padmavati is thus associated with Parshva, Ambika with Neminath, Chakreshwari with Adinath etc. These deities are referred to in a number of Jain books but their functions are described most fully in the texts of Digambaras, who have secret texts devoted to these deities, wherein their forms, names, symbols, weapons etc., are described.[12]

Jains revere these goddesses and some goddesses of Hindus—Saraswati (goddess of learning), Laxmi (goddess of prosperity) etc. Jains have their own 16 goddesses of knowledge. The Jains also worship caste deities and patron deities of the family.

One can see the images of all these holies and gods in the temples (mainly in those of Shvetambaras, who adopted more elements of Hinduism than Digambaras). Orthodox Jains try to fight against these deviations from the principles of religion but it is not possible to eradicate them, since they have made their appearance in Jainism very long ago.

12 'Praci Jyoti' Digest of Indological Studies, Institute of Indic Studies, Kurushetra University, 1963 December, p. 35.

Images of Tirthankars are worshipped in the temples of both the sects (excluding the subsect of Digambaras—taranapanthi and the subsect of Shvetambaras—sthanakavasi).

Digambaras have simple, unadorned images of nude males, standing upright or sitting on crossed exposed legs, while the Shvetambaras have often images wrapped up in cloth and adorned by jewellery and gold. Usually their eyes are made of precious stones.

Many elements go into the ritual of worship of the images, although it is not obligatory to perform all these every time Those offering prayers through the medium of the priest of the temple sprinkle water and saffron on the image, place in front of it burning aromatic sticks—agarbatties—say prayer, place near the image flowers, rice, fruits, sweetmeats. Most often the ritual of worship consist in the prayer-doer revolving clockwise round the image three times and saying brief prayer: Namo arhantanam, Namo siddhanam. The morning prayer of the ordinary members of the community is also very short: 'Let the sinful thoughts which visited me last night be forgiven'.[18]

Philanthropy and donations for maintenance of temples are considered great religious services.

Every day the priest of a temple washes the images with milk and on the festival days, by special aromatic composition and adorns them with flowers.

The stanakavasi and taranpanthi subsects have prayer-houses, where their monks live and where their holy books are read.

Jains make pilgrimages to their holy places, where according to their superstition their Tirthankars were born and had secured enlightenment or had died.

The following are the fond places of pilgrimage:

Bihar: (1) City of Parasnath, near which the mountain of Samata is situated. Here according to legend, Parshva and a number of other holies secured Nirvan. On this mountain and round about there are many Jain temples.

(2) City of Papapuri (or Pavapuri) where Mahavir died. This city is situated not far from the capital of the State i.e. Patna. Here on the lake one of the most famous Jain temples is situated.

18. E. Thomas, *The Early Faith of Ashoka.*

(3) City of Rajgir. Here, according to legend, 20th Tirthankar was born. There is a rocky mountain near the town on which the Jain ascetics performed penance in the course of many centuries in front of the people, coming to see them.

(4) Bhagalpur, where the 12th Tirthankar was born.

Rajasthan: (1) Mount Abu, on the summit of which the whole town of magnificent temples is situated.

(2) The village of Rakhab-Dev near the city of Udaypur. Here there is an ancient temple of the first Tirthankar—Rishabha. The most interesting feature of local culture is worship of the carved image of Rishabha, made of black marble not only by the Jains but also Vaishnavas (regarding the carved image as incarnation of Vishnu) and Bhils (calling it their own god Kala-ji i.e. black god). This is one of the most eloquent confirmations of the assumption about the ancient and initial connections of Jainism with the cult of Vishnu-Krishna and with the pre-Aryan cult.

(3) City of Ranapur on the west of the State, near the city of Jodhpur.

Gujarat: Temples on the mountain of Girnar, where according to legend, the 22nd Tirthankar-Arishtanemi (or Neminath) submerged in Nirvan. The image is carved from black marble.

South Shravanbelgol in the State of Mysore is regarded as the holiest place of pilgrimage. On the mountain of Shravanbelgol, temples of Tirthankars, Parshva and Neminath, built in the tenth-twelfth centuries are situated. The gigantic statue of Gomateshwar, son of Rishabha, carved out of rock is also standing here.[14]

Usually these pilgrimages are connected with festivals and fasts. Jains observe festivals and fasts of their own religious community. They observe many festivals and fasts of the Hindus too.

The following are purely Jain festivals:

1. Jalyatra—ablution in the river of the sacred wheel—

14. The list of places of pilgrimage is given mainly from the book of N. von Glasenapp, *Heilige Stätten Indiens*.

siddhachakra—which is taken twice in a year—in spring and in autumn—solemnly to the river and back.

2. Festival of Mahavir Jayanti—The birth anniversary of Mahavir is celebrated on the 13th day of the first half of Chaitra (March-April). Both the Digambaras and Shvetambaras celebrate the birth anniversary.

3. Jina-panchami (by Shvetambaras and Digambaras in October-November) or Shruta-panchami (by Digambaras in May-June) is the festival of holy books, when worship of these books takes place. They are decorated with flowers.

4. Virashasana jayanti (only the Digambaras observe this) the day of the first preaching by Mahavir after securing enlightenment (in July-August).

The following fasts are observed:

1. Paryushana—strict ten days' fast in August-September (by the Digambaras) or eight days' fast (by the Shvetambaras). It is accompanied by prayers, processions and worship of holy books

2. Ashtanhika—(only by the Digambaras) three times in a year.

3. Fast of four full-moon nights in the year (when Shvetambaras illuminate their temples).

4 Both the sects also observe fasts (which are not very strict) on the 4th, 8th, 12th days of every month.

From the Hindu festivals Jains observe the following:

1. Divali—the autumn festival of lights which the Jains regard as the day of achievement of Moksha i.e. full liberation, by Mahavir.

2. Rakshabandhan—the day by the end of July, when the sister ties a special lace—amulet on the wrist of brothers. The Jains regard this day as a festival of mutual friendship and amity.

3. Ganesh Chaturthi—day of the god Ganesh (is observed only in Maharashtra and Mysore, where the Hindus celebrate it very solemnly).

4. Anant Chaturdasi—the day of reverence to the great

serpent Naga, regarded as a symbol of infinity.

Several other local Hindu festivals are also observed.

Jainism, similar to Hinduism, accepts the idea of religious suicide, but as distinct from Hinduism, Jains always considered that quick methods of suicide are worthless and the people making use of them are reborn as demons. The Jain ascetics choose the method of slow death from hunger and thirst. Moreover, death itself is not their aim. The aim is to renounce all the requirements of the flesh and thus atone for all sins, connected with the flesh.[15]

Only the ascetics are permitted religious suicide. Any other suicide is strictly condemned by Jainism, as violent interruption of the process of liberation of soul from the power of karma.

15. U Thakur, *The History of Suicide in India*, pp. 103-106.

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUCTURE OF JAIN COMMUNITY

(Its Customs)

As is already indicated, the entire Jain community is divided into two sects—Digambaras and Shvetambaras.[1]

Digambaras in their turn are divided into five subsects—bisapanthi, terapanthi, taranapanthi (or samayapanthi), gumanapanthi and totapanthi.

The difference between them consists mainly in observance or non-observance of one or the other fine point of ritual (thus, bisapanthi present flowers, fruits and sweetmeats to the images of Tirthankars and Terapanthi present only rice), but the first two subsects do not visit the temples of other subsects.

Shvetambaras have three subsects: pujera (or murtipujaka or deravasi or mandirmargi), dhundia (or bistola or sthanakavasi or sadhumargi) and terapanthi.

Pujeras dress up and richly adorn Tirthankars in their temples, their ascetics bind their mouths with white cloth but they can wear yellow dress. The dhundias have not got images of Tirthankars at all, and their ascetics wear only white. Terapanthi is rather a big subsect and strictly observes ascetism. They also do not worship the images of Tirthankars.

The spiritual life of all these subsects is led by the heads—Acharyas. Still petty groups, headed by their mentors—Acharyas—exist in the subsects. These groups are called sanghas and still smaller subgroups—gana, gachcha and sakha—exist in those sanghas. Contradictions and disputes constantly arise amongst them about various questions of ritual. Many groups have their own temples and separate schools for religious education of the young. These schools are called gurukulas or patha shalas.

1. H. Jacobi considers that the division took place in the second century after Mahavir's death (H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part I, p. XXXV).

Every group has its own ascetics. The interesting feature of the internal structure of these groups is the system of mutual control between laymen and ascetics. For breach of rules of conduct or prohibitions, not only the laymen but also the ascetics can be expelled from the community and this practically takes place sometimes in our days too. Even Shripujya (head of ascetics of a given group) can be expelled by its members.

Some such sanghas also arose which strove to even out contradictions inside the community and they elevated this to the level of their programme of religious teaching. Thus, the sangh, known as the yapya, existing in Andhra accepts, as the Shvetambaras do, the truth of canonic books and the possibility of salvation of women also, but like the Digambaras, it upholds the customary ritualistic nudity of body and all the rules prescribed for the ascetics.[2]

As has been already mentioned, division into castes penetrated in the Jain community and the custom of inheriting the profession in each caste (mainly by the north Indian Jains) got partially established. Here it is quite in place to remember the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, which briefly and aptly characterise this process. It is exceedingly interesting and significant that during the stretch of a protracted segment of Indian history, the great people more than once warned against priesthood and the rigid caste system, and strong movements took place against them. Nevertheless, as though it was predestined, castes slowly developed and almost imperceptibly spread and caught in their pernicious clutches all the spheres of Indian life. The rebels, rising against the old religion and which was in many respects highly distinctive from it, reconciled with the caste system, as a result of which, it continues to exist in India almost as a branch of Hinduism.[3]

As distinct from Hinduism, there are no rigid caste prohibitions or prescriptions in Jainism. No caste enjoys privileged position, even though a stratum of Brahmins proper has formed amongst Jains. Judging from the traditions which have come down from word of mouth and the works of Jain lite-

2. V. A. Sangave, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-63, 398
3. J. Nehru, *Discovery of India.*

nature, a numberless subsects and castes arose mainly in the medieval period, commencing from the 2nd half of the 1st millennium. It is apparent that the historical process of settlement of the Jains in India, conversion of individual groups of population and also the process of adoption of the caste system by the Jain community was reflected in the rise of such petty subgroups in that community.

This idea is confirmed by the fact that the Jain tradition preserves the names of tens of preachers, who supposedly formed those groups and moreover, interpreted canon in various ways and prescribed different religious practices to their groups. But the makers of the religious canons of Jainism, in no way expressed their own attitudes to castes and did not introduce any prohibitions or prescriptions in this connection.

Some of the castes of Jains are extremely small in number. Thus amongst the Shvetambaras, almost no caste (excluding the five strong castes) has more than 500 members. Amongst both the sects, there are some castes which consist of 10-12 persons each.[4]

Notwithstanding the fact that not all the caste institutions were adopted by the Jains, the ideas about higher and lower position of this or that caste exists all the same. Thus many castes of the Jains are divided into two groups—visa and dasa. Scholars are unable to explain the origin of these groups, but it is certain that these groups are endogamous and that the position of the latter group is lower than that of the former. The members of the latter group are not even allowed to enter the temples in some places, even though untouchability practically does not exist amongst Jains.

Marriages of widows are allowed amongst the castes of visa group, while amongst the castes of dasa group, such marriages are prohibited.[5] It is possible to assume that the dasa caste goes back genetically to those ancient groups of Jains which had their origin in the non-Aryan people, while visas have their origin in the groups of Jain-Aryans, which were formed much later.

It is characteristic that marriages of members of visa castes with those of the dasa castes are prohibited, while marriages

4. V. A. Sangave, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

between the members of visa castes of Digambaras and Shvetambaras and equally between those of the dasa castes of both the sects are not censured.

In several castes of Western India, in which a part of members profess Jainism and another part, Hinduism, Jains as a rule belong to the visa group and Vishnuites belong to the dasa group. It is obvious that here members of higher castes were converted into Jainism in those times, when the rulers patronised this religion (as it happened, for example, in Rajasthan and Gujarat).

Marriages between such Jains and Vishnuites are allowed.[6]

Jain castes, like the Hindu castes, are divided in exogamus groups—gotras. Gotras are traced to kin groups and exogamy is observed rigidly to the present day.

Osaval (or osvala), shrimali, poravada (partially Digambaras) of the Shvetambara castes and agarvala, khandelvala, paravara, Khumbada (partially Shvetambaras) of the Digambara castes are the most numerous ones in northern and western India. In south India, where practically all the local Jains belong to Digambara sect, such fractional division into castes does not exist amongst them. Here there are four big castes—saitavala (this caste is not in Mysore), chaturtha, panchama and bogara or kasara and three small castes—upadhyaya, kamboja and harada.

The Digambaras of the south do not marry and do not practically keep any connection with members of Jaina community living in all the other regions of India. Apparently ancient and deep differences divide this group from other Jains.

An interesting feature of the life of south Indian Jaina community is that here the priests are the high caste Hindus, tracing themselves to ancient Aryans, support patrilineal system of inheritance and while giving daughters in marriage give dowry, but the rest of the Jains have no such institutions. As distinct from priests, the rest of the Jains (so-called laymen) support most ancient customs, which are preserved even to this day by the Dravidian peoples (as by the hill and jungle tribes). Sister's son and not his own children inherit by right the property of the deceased.[7]

6. Ch. Krause, *The Social Atmosphere at Present Jainism.*
7. V. A. Sangave, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

Along with these survivals of matriarchal relations, Jains preserve the custom of payment of 'dahej' (bride-price) in monetary form and also in the form of presents and transfer of part of property to the father of the bride in conformity with the marriage contract.

Amongst the priests in the south, marriages of widows are prohibited and amongst the rest of the Jains, they are allowed (with the exception of regions towards the south of the city of Madras).[8]

Marriages between priests and laymen are prohibited.

Each of the four big castes in the south is led by its own spiritual leader (bhattaraka) who, occupying intermediary position between ascetics and laymen, can individually resolve disputes between the members of the caste and expel from it whomsoever he considers it necessary.

The institutions of bhattarakas arose in medieval ages amongst the Digambaras of north India and spread out from there wider and wider and flourished in southern regions.

In the course of several centuries, leadership of everyday life of the members of the community and control over their conduct and performance of religious obligations was concentrated in the hands of the bhattarakas. Specially trained students directly helped them.

But in course of time bhattarakas started to claim divine power, and came in conflict with one another, dragging in this enmity the groups, led by them and gradually exhausted their authority. Manifestations of dissatisfaction with the power of bhattaraka began. Thus the subsect of Digambaras viz. terapanthi appeared in the beginning of the eighteenth century in the form of a group, expressing its protest against this dominance.[9]

Side by side with the temple-priests there is a chief village priest—gramopadhyaya in each Jain village. He as well as all the other priests—non-ascetics—can marry. But the head priest of the district—dharmadhikari—is an ascetic and all the priests of this district are subordinate to him.

All the priests and heads of the castes must see whether the

8. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 292.

members of the community follow the correct mode of life and observe the correct conduct. Great attention is paid to correct conduct, since it must ensure perfection of the soul on its path to salvation. The conduct of ascetics must be perfect—'sakala' and such perfection is not demanded of a layman (the mode of their conduct is called vikala).

Every Jain believes that his life consists of various stages of existence of his bodily envelopes and he must rationally satisfy the requirements of his body in conformity with each stage.

Entering into marriage is fully obligatory for all except ascetics. Marriages of Jains take place according to the selection by the parents, as is common with the members of other religious communities in India.

It was prescribed in ancient times, in conformity with the Jain philosophy, to give the daughter in marriage, soon after attaining puberty, since unproductivity is tantamount to murder and this stands in contrast with the doctrine of non-violence. That is why, child marriage was widespread in the community. Such marriages were stopped comparatively recently, after the Sarda Act in India about instituting criminal proceedings against persons guilty of child marriage adopted in 1931 by the British administration was brought strictly in operation.

Special religious ceremonies are performed in connection with various incidents in life. Marriage is the most serious and important step in the life of a Jain and is accompanied by many rites. As distinct from Hindus, Jains do not consider marriage a god-pleasing act but a feature of service to society, since people who do not marry are subjected to all sorts of temptations. They remain childless, which undermines the principles of society's life.

As distinct from Hindus, Jains do not consider that it is preferable to have only sons who are supposed to perform funeral ceremonies, since they do not prescribe sacrificial offerings to the spirits of the ancestors and do not regard the cult of the ancestors as a path towards liberation of the soul.

The Jain canonical books do not support the prescriptions regarding marriage rites. That is why these rites widely depend on local customs.

If Hindus acknowledge eight forms of marriage, described

in the 'Laws of Manu' (brahma, daiva, arsha, prajapatya, asura, gandharva, rakshasa and paishacha), the Jains regard only the first four forms as acceptable, because these marriages take place with the consent of the parents of the bridegroom and the bride. The Jains consider remaining four forms of marriage sinful, since the gandharva form of marriage takes place only with mutual consent of the young and the remaining three forms are connected with 'dahej' (bride-price) or with her forceful abduction (rakshasa). However, in ancient times, rakshasa form of marriage was widespread amongst Jains, from which once more one can venture to reflect upon the initial connection of this religion with non-Aryan peoples.

Most often marriages of brahma and prajapatya forms mean handing over of the bride to the bridegroom by her father in the presence of witnesses.

In the south of India, cross-cousin marriage is preferred and the very best form of it is the marriage with the daughter of mother's brother, while in the north cross-cousin marriages are not recommended and not practised.

Until recently the form of marriage, in which there is exchange of sisters was widely prevalent, but with the spread of western education it is almost forgotten, as it is at variance with the interests of girls.[10]

Amongst almost all the families dowry is given for the daughter but among the lower castes of Jains, the asura form—a marriage with 'dahej' (bride-price—this form is often met with also among lower castes of Hindus) is practised.

All marriage negotiations must be confirmed by the panchayat of the caste.[11]

In general outlines the marriage rites of all the Jains are similar.

Usually a month before the marriage, bethrothal takes place. On that day the father of the bride presents gifts to the father of the bridegroom in the presence of witnesses. Soon after this, the father of the bridegroom gives ornaments as gifts to the bride. On the marriage day both the fathers ask all those present whether they agree with the proposed marital union.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Then the father of the bride joins the young couple's hands, asking them to observe all the precepts of the faith. As with Hindus, the marriage rite ends with the couple passing seven times round the holy fire[12] and during this time, the couple takes an oath to lead a highly moral life and to be friendly. After completing the last of the seven circles, the marriage is considered to have been performed. This ceremony also indicates that the marriage is indissoluble. Marriage ceremony takes place everywhere in the home of the bride.

Polygamy is not rejected in Jainism but is very rarely found at present. While judging from references to this custom in Jain texts, it can be said that earlier it was much widespread. Usually the reason for bringing a second wife in the house is childlessness of the first wife or lack of vitality of her children. But her consent for her husband's second marriage while she is living is necessary. There are practically no divorces, though the usual right allows divorce, provided either of the couple detects secret defect of the other. Only in the saitavala and bogara castes in the south, divorces can be effected more or less freely.

As a whole, the position of women in the Jain community is never humiliating and although the rules regarding their entry into the nuns' order are stricter than those for men, it is considered all the same that women can even become Tirthankars and preachers of the faith (Digambaras consider that the 19th Tirthankar Malli was a woman).

In the sphere of education, chances for both boys and girls are almost equal, although girls are brought up more as housewives and would-be mothers than as specialists in some sphere of social activity.

It is worth emphasising that widows have the right to inherit husband's property—a fact testifying to the preservation by the Jains of the survivals of the high social position of women. According to Jain law, a widow has a right to inheritance, even though sons are born in marriage (there is no such right in Hinduism) and even the division of children's portions depends on the desire of the widow.[13]

12 In so far as Jainism does not prescribe worship of fire, several scholars consider that this rite was borrowed from Hinduism (M. Mackenzie, *Accounts of the Jains*).

13 V. A. Sangave, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

Jain religion prescribes performance of various ceremonies in the course of family life, directed to ensure satisfactory conception, normal development of foetus and satisfactory birth. Not earlier than twelve days after its birth, the child is named and special ceremonies are performed on this occasion. Special rites are also performed on the day on which the child starts to sit, on the day when it is given solid food for the first time, on the first birthday and on the day of commencing learning (at the age of 5). At the age of 8, children pass through the ceremony of dedication in the temple (this rite does not exist in Gujarat) and holy threads are placed through the shoulders of the children. This is also done amongst higher Hindu castes. The completion of learning at the age of 14 to 16 is also observed by special rite. After this, they are ready for marriage.

After having married, every Jain is obliged to think of good earnings, so as to support his family, to support the community, to help monks and to engage in philanthropy. This is considered as one of the reasons for engaging themselves in trade and enterprises.

After fulfilling all the obligations of family life, the head of the family passes through the rite of dedication to asceticism and after leaving home, can lead the mode of life of an ascetic, performing various rites and ceremonies prescribed in the holy book *Adi Purana* (ninth century A.D.).

For the Digambaras, fulfilment of 53 rites, or passing through 53 stages are prescribed. Death and access to heaven and descent on the earth, are considered such stages, which will enable a Jain to be born as a would-be Tirthankar and to gradually turn into arhata and secure full liberation—Moksha. Shvetambaras, in conformity with the holy book *Achharadinakara* (beginning of sixteenth century) must pass only 16 such stages, the last amongst which is death.

Digambaras and Shvetambaras burn the bodies of the dead, bathing and then wrapping them in new clothes before burning. The ashes are prescribed to be thrown in water, as in the case with Hindus. The nearest relatives of the dead are considered 'impure' for ten days.

There are no funeral ceremonies amongst the Jains of the north and the south but in Karnatak those ceremonies are per-

formed one month in a year. In general, the Jain law prescribes mourning the death of an ascetic for not more than a minute, of Kshatriya not more than five days, of Brahmin not more than 10 days, of Vaishya not more than 12 days, and of Shudra not more than 15 days.

All these rites are performed in different regions of India with different degree of relativity, since for the most part, these rites were introduced in Jain practice in medieval period and were borrowed mainly from Hinduism.

Jains are liable to expulsion from the community for committing murder, adultery, falsehood, stealing and for amorous affairs with non-Jains.

Jain ascetics must lead the life of a wanderer, not living in one place for more than a month (only in the rainy season they can live in one place up to four months). They must move about only on foot and only during daylight. In the dark period of the day and night they must not walk and must not eat also, because being unable to see, they may crush or swallow some insect.

Amongst Digambaras, ascetics are divided in three classes, anuvrata, mahavrata and nirvana. To be an anuvrata, it is necessary to leave the family, to clean-shave the head, to give up holy thread and live at the temple. An anuvrata must dress himself in clothes of saffron colour and must always carry with him earthen vessel for alms. While moving about, he must sweep the road before him with a bunch of peacock feathers (so as not to crush some insects).

The mahavrata ascetics may wear only loin-cloth. The hair on his head are pulled out from their roots by his pupils. He must eat rice only once in a day on his palm.

The nirvana ascetic must be always nude, eat rice, placed in his palm by somebody and must not move after sunset.[14] His hair is also pulled out from the roots by his pupils (for this custom, even the Buddhists ridiculed Jains, saying that they thus violate their own concept of not subjecting living beings to evil and pain).

Shvetambara ascetics differ in that they wear white dress, bind their mouths with white stripes (according to one ex-

14. M Mackenzie, *Account of the Jains.*

planation, so as not to swallow some insect, according to the others, so as not to profane air with their breath) and carry in their hands whisks on sticks to sweep the road. Monks and nuns must have their hair pulled out.

They must feed themselves on alms. Moreover, they must not ask for alms and wait until given voluntarily (they called this means of collection of alms, 'madhukari'). By this term they mean, they treat themselves like bees, which take very little honey without depriving the flowers of it, and yet finally gather enough quantity for themselves.

Members of Shudra caste cannot be ascetics.

Jainism does not prescribe ceremonial purification from sins, as is done in Hinduism. That is why Jains must avoid sin in the strictest manner. In as much as causing harm to living beings is regarded as the greatest sin, Jains are prescribed strict observance of extreme caution in all their work, especially household work, such as chopping wood, sweeping floor, cleaning vegetables, cleaning hearths etc.

Not only ascetics but many laymen also filter water through cloth, so as not to swallow even the minutest living beings, which may turn out in it and they do not move about with the coming of darkness.

CHAPTER VII

LITERATURE AND ART OF THE JAINS

(Literature)

THE most ancient works of Jain literature, which are ascribed to Mahavir, were written in Ardhamagadhi language. This was 'prakrit' (i.e. popular, spoken language) of eastern Gangetic regions, a language of Indo-Aryan groups, a language of Aryans which had spread out in the environment of local Kshatriyas, and later of wider strata of population.

It is not known to us in which language Mahavir preached and to what extent Ardhamagadhi had spread in ancient Bihar in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C The written works of Jain literature appeared much later.

According to a legend, Mahavir expounded his sermons orally and his nearest followers (ganadharas) copied down his sermons, giving them the form of books (ganipitaka). On the basis of these books special teachers (Upadhyaya) taught the whole order of Shramanas.[1] According to another legend of the Jains, the sermons of Mahavir were understood by all the people, irrespective of the language which they spoke.

Jains highly value Ardhamagadhi as the language of their holy writings and study it. Many Jain works—literary, philosophical or scientific—were written in Sanskrit. Jain inscriptions, dated second century A.D. in the so called hybrid Sanskrit, representing a mixture of local colloquial dialect and Sanskrit, have been found in Mathura. Literary Sanskrit partially stands as a language of Jain writings only from the middle of the 1st millennium A D As a result of its fusion with central Indian dialects, a special variety of Sanskrit—the Jain Sanskrit[2] has developed.

1 Muni Shri Nagraji, *A Pen-Sketch of Acharya Shri Tulsi*, p 5.
2 V. Ivanov and V Toporov, *Sanskrit*, p. 27.

To the extent to which Jains settled in various regions of India, they used the language of these regions. The Apabhransha languages, which are closer to new Indian analytical languages than the ancient Indian inflected languages occupy a significant place in the much later Jain literature. In the second millennium A.D., Jain literature appeared mainly in new Indian languages, since Jains always strived to popularise their teachings amongst wide mass of people, who did not know Sanskrit. The Jain literature not only developed in Indo-Aryan languages, but in Dravidian (mainly in Kannada) also in as much as thousands of Jains lived there and their biggest monasteries and temples are situated there.

The religious-philosophical terminology of Jain literature is traced back to Indo-Aryan terms. Until now no research is made regarding manifestation and reconstruction of the ancient strata of the language of Jain canonic books. That is why it is not possible to say anything about the real connection existing between the Indo-Aryan group and the other groups and about the manner in which the process of the forcing out of the ancient vocabulary by the Sanskrit and Ardhamagadhi vocabularies took place.

Accepting the then existing tradition, Mahavir left his pupils —Ganadharas, 14 books or sections—Puvvas (purva)—containing the principles of religion. Six generations of Ganadharas remembered them by heart and later, when under the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, a big group of Jain monks headed by Bhadrabahu left for the south (it is considered that the reason for this was a long famine, sweeping the land of Magadha), only one monk named Sthulabhadra, who remembered all the puvvas remained back. Then an all-Jain Synod was called in the city of Pataliputra and a canon was formed for the first time, which is known as 'Siddhanta' or 'Agama'. The first 11 parts or Angas form its base. It is considered that the 14 puvvas which were committed to memory were brought in the 12th Anga, which got the name of Ditthivaya (Drishtivada). But later, the initial Ditthivaya was lost and what was preserved was a record of 14 puvvas of the 4th Anga.[5] There are in all

5 H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part I, Introduction, p. XLIV, supposedly assumes that the texts of puvvas were contradictory and became unaccept-

45 parts in the canon; 11 angas, 12 upangas, 10 painnas (which are considered to be mixed texts of various origins), 6 chhedasutras, 4 mulsutras and 4 independent texts.

Bhadrabahu, who after his return from the south did not acknowledge the canon, allegedly wrote 'Kalpasutra' (which is a part of the fourth chhedasutra).

Having returned from the south, the monks saw that much had changed in their absence and that the rest had forgotten the prohibition of not wearing dress and not moving about in white clothes and that the canon had been composed without the participation of Bhadrabahu and his associates. Then the community was split into Digambaras and Shvetambaras,[4] and Digambaras refused to acknowledge the canon, declaring that all real holy texts were forgotten.

With the passing of time, the canon of Siddhanta was partly forgotten and partly modified in the process of the spread of Jainism in India. Then a new Synod was convened in the town of Vallabhi (Gujarat) in the middle of the fifth century A.D. and the canon was re-constituted.

The canonic text contains both prose and verses. The metrics in all the early Jain texts is not vedic but folk-metrics. The Aryan metrics is very rarely found in the texts in Ardhamagadhi.[5] The first Anga, in which the rules of life and conduct of Jains is described is considered to be the most ancient.[6]

Sharp polemics with the Brahmins and satirical attacks on their teachings form the characteristic feature of canonic texts, reflecting hostile relations with the representatives of Vedic cults. An extract from the 3rd Anga 'Suyagadangi' (1.7) can serve as an example of such sort of texts: If it is true that it is possible to secure perfection by means of baths in cold water, then frogs, tortoises and serpents reach high perfection,

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able in the process of formation of Jain community, and it became necessary to compose a clear and systematised canon.

4. Inscription of first century A.D. show that at that time two communities of Jains were already known and various schools—ganas, existed within these communities (M. Winternitz, *Geschishte der Indischen Literatur*, p. 294).

5. B. Ch. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 265.

6. H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, Part I, Introduction. B. Ch. Law, considered this Anga as the earliest testimony to the tenor of life of the *nirgranthas*

and if water washes away wicked acts, then it must wash away the kind acts also. Brahmins believe that they reach perfection by daily enkindling fire, but if so, smiths and other similar handicraftsmen must reach the highest holyness.'

The themes of Indian epics are also found in Jain literature. For example, there is a legend about Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandavas and about her polyandric marriage, in the 6th Anga.

The 6th Anga contains a legend about Krishna, about the destruction of his kin and the attack on his city—Dwarka. All this has been described as in Mahabharat but Krishna himself is described as a Jain—a circumstance, again reminding us of the known interlacing of Krishnaism and Jainism.

Interesting narration about the unsuccessful and unhappy rebirths of a human being as a result of the law of Karma appears in the 11th Anga.

Exposition of scientific views on the questions of astronomy, geography, cosmogony, science of conception of time, etc. is found in the upangas. Also the principles of architecture, planning of cities and decoration of buildings are laid down there. Music, dances, art, erotics, methods of teaching actors etc. are also described. All this creates before us a picture of the ancient Indian society.

'Kalpasutra' is one of the latest parts of the canon but it is revered by the Jains as the highest of all the parts. It consists of three sections: the life of 24 Tirthankars is described in the first, different groups in the community and their leaders in the second (inscriptions of first century A.D. remind of these leaders as historical personalities) and the third contains the rules of the conduct of ascetics.

Mulsutras contain interesting material—fables, parables, and dialogues of ascetics, in which disputes with Brahmins are carried and their ideals are subverted.

Very little is known about the canon of Digambaras. I. Minayev observed that they took an hostile attitude towards Europeans and did not show their books to anybody,[8] but it

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sect (B. Ch. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 208.

7. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, p. 299.

8. I. Minayev, *Information About Jains and Buddhists.*

is known that their canon is also divided in 12 Angas, though it is noticed from its contents that it differs from the canon of Shvetambaras.

Collection of stories (often composed according to the principle of 'story of a set frame') is interesting non-canonical literature. One comes across themes of different episodes in those stories. A peculiar form is given to these and all other themes to show therefrom how conversion to Jainism facilitates moral correction of man. The most known collections are: 'Kathakosha' (eleventh-twelfth century, the author unknown), 'Kathakosha' containing 500 stories written by Shubhashilagami (fifteenth century) 'Kathamahodadhi' by the famous Jain writer Somachandra (fifteenth century) and 'Katharatnakara' by Hemavijaya (seventeenth century).

The following story would serve as a model of the stories appearing in such collections (eleventh to twelfth century).

A girl had a wicked stepmother, who compelled her to do all sorts of heavy work. Once while she was grazing her cow, she fell fast asleep. A black serpent, who was followed by a hunter of serpents awakened her and requested her to save him. The girl hid the serpant and he promised her by way of gift that he would fulfil any desire of hers, for her asking. Then the girl requested him to create shade above her, so that she could hide her cow from the sun. The serpent created a shady garden all around by his power of magic and from that time it went wherever the girl went. Once she saw in the garden a young king, who fell in love with her and decided to marry her. Knowing this, her stepmother started machinations to substitute her own daughter, but the serpent smashed all these machinations and helped the kind girl to secure her happiness.[9] This story with a moral calls upon people to observe the doctrine of ahimsa.

There are many stories about the life of Tirthankars and other holies, whom the Jains worship. Such stories are called 'Charitra' or 'Charita' which is a universal literary term in Indian literature for this genre. The widely known charita is a work of the Jain monk, Hemachandra, who was a distinguished religious worker, scholar and politician of the twelfth

9. Retold from the book *Geschichteder Indischen Literatur*, by M. Winternitz, p 325.

century. The work is called Trishashti-Shalaka-Purushacharita (life of 63 best persons).

Hemchandra wrote the treatise *Yogashastra* for the ruler Kumarapala, which praises Jainism and fiercely attacks Hinduism as an amoral, unjust religion, which does not know the real doctrine of ahimsa.[10]

There is also another type of such stories, which is called 'Prabandha'. They describe the lives of distinguished monks and laymen. This literature contains many interesting testimonies to the life of the representatives of various strata of the society. Such stories were composed by both Shvetambaras and Digambaras.

Jain prose usually alternates with insertions in verses (this is an ancient principle of compositions in prose in the whole of India).

Yashastilaka written by Somadeva, a Digambara, in the tenth century is a famous story in prose and poetry. Its theme is also intended to propagate the omnipotence of Jainism. It tells about the king of Maridatta, who once decided to sacrifice a girl and a boy from the Jain community but suddenly thought that they may be the children of his own sister, who had become a Jain nun after leaving her family. After inquiries, it was revealed that, that was exactly so. The children narrated the story of their previous births from which it became clear that all the great poets, such as Vyasa, the author of *Mahabharata*, Kalidasa, Bana and others treated Jainism with deep reverence. Startled by what he learnt, the king became a Jain.

Poetry occupies an important place in Jainism. Many religious-lyrical verses, known as stotras were composed in Sanskrit. However, many others were also composed in Prakrit and in new Indian languages. Various miracles which ensured conversion of people into Jainism, are described in those stotras. Such polemics with Brahmins (for example, in the poem *Subhashita Ratna Samdha*—collection of marvellous treasures of speech) are contained in the poetic expositions of Jain ethics, especially in the works of Digambara-poets. The author of *Subhashita Ratna Samdha*, Amitagati, also composed other

10. The Shvetambara monks must daily read the first four chapters of this book.

works, which contain dogmatic disputes with Brahmins and sharp criticism of their morals, rules of conduct, god-worship etc.

Anthologies of Jain poems and collections of aphorisms were also composed. Out of the latter, the most widely known are the *Gathakosha* by Munichandra Suri (twelfth century) and *Gathasahasri* by Samayasunder (seventeenth century). They are valuable because they are great stories of ancient aphorisms and apophthegms in verses. The following lines can well serve as specimen of the aphorisms in these collections:

> One can never walk along two roads simultaneously,
> One cannot sew with a needle whose both ends are sharpened,
> One cannot simultaneously accommodate within oneself sinful joy and the path of salvation.

Many literary works of Jains deal with the questions of religious dogmas, philosophy, ethics, grammar, astronomy, cosmogony etc. This form of literature is supplemented at present by new treatises and discourses by Jain monks—scholars.

Saddarshana-Samuchhaya (ninth century) by Haribhadra, is one of the most remarkable old treatises on religion. In this book the author makes an attempt to put an end to the enmity which had flared between the sects and to convince people that one must not blindly reject everything that disagrees with their views and that it is necessary to search for rational essence in every religion, including Hinduism. Only thus can they aspire to comprehend reality.

The book *Jivavuyara* (tenth century) by Shantisuri is also interesting. All the beings, living on the earth and their paths of rebirths are described in this book. The level of development of various sciences of that time—botany, zoology and geography is reflected in this book. The book contains interesting myths also.

The Jain teachers paid much attention to the spread of religious education among the members of their community. This was attempted not only through oral sermons and readings of canonical texts (to popularise the texts, simplified stories were composed for laymen) but also through special illustra-

tions to these texts, carved on slabs of stones.

It is said in *Anuyogadvara Sutra* that cognitions given to the members of the community were divided in earthly ('laukika') cognitions and religious-philosophical ('lokottara') cognitions. All the sciences belong to the first and teachings about discipline and obligations of members of the community and especially of the monks belong to the second category. Also all questions connected with religious teachings and philosophical conceptions belong to the latter.

Every Jain desiring to go through learning had to be initiated in learning by the mentor, Upadhyaya, and then had to learn from the teacher, Acharya. This system exists even at present. Many educational and explanatory texts were prepared and essence of Jainism was expounded in a simple way so as to be easily understood.

All the Jain literature was created to propagate Jainism and was above all subjected to this aim. Hence wide use of motifs of folklores and folktales was made in the literature. Folk languages and dialects were used precisely for this reason. Usually merchants, handicraftsmen and also shudras appear as characters in Jain literary works. The literature received great popularity due to these reasons.

Jains contributed a great deal to the development of literature in dialects and stood out to some extent as forerunner of those educators, who fought in the later Middle Ages against the dominance of Brahmanic language—Sanskrit—and defended the dialects. Creations of Jain writers played a great role especially in the development of literature in Dravidian languages. South Indian writers narrated and developed the themes of the literary works of the Jains in many of their own works.

In modern times, popular propagandistic literary works are produced. They expound philosophy and ethics of Jainism.

Presently the famous written sermons and verses of Acharya Shri Tulsi, the leader of terapanthi subsect of the Shvetambaras are much in use.

Art

The Jain community also contributed to Indian art. Having

started from the second half of the last millennium B.C., Jains created beautiful and exceedingly plastic statues of their Tirthankara.

Two such images carved out of stone were found during excavations in Lohanipura (not far from Patna). They belong to the epoch of Mauryas (fourth to third century B.C.). One of them is a male torso, done in strict realistic manner and is magnificently polished. It is considered to be the most ancient iconographical sculptural image.[11]

Note should be taken of the remarkable similarity of this torso with the small torso from polished sandstone, found in Harappa. Both the sculptures portray nude males. Notwithstanding the fact that the hands, heads and feet of the sculptures are broken off, it is seen that the portrayed personages stand fully erect. The holies are portrayed by the Jains in that posture which is called kayotsarga, and it shows the personage at the moment when the soul leaves the body, i.e. at the moment of conversion into a Siddha. Does not this clear-cut similarity once again confirm the belief that some ideas of the peoples of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa subsequently appeared in Jainism?[12]

There are no known portrayals of nude male figures standing erect, in Indian plastics, except those of the Tirthankars. That is why we can consider the above-referred images, statues as a link connecting the most ancient stage of development of sculpture in 3rd-2nd millennium B.C., with the sculpture of the next 20-25 centuries.

The search for a direct link between the above-referred statues enables us to presume that other forms of plastics of Indus Valley civilisation found their continuation in the sculptures and reliefs, done in India from the fourth-third century B.C. and in the articles of handicraftsmen (small metallic plastics, earthern figurines, children's playthings etc.). Fixed, unchanging form is a characteristic of the Jain sculpture throughout the history of Jain art.

The Jain as well as the Buddhist architecture at the early

11. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 251.

12. Walter Ruben also took note of the similarity of the portrayals of nude Tirthankars and the above-referred figures from the Indus Valley (W. Ruben, *Uberlegung zur Geschichte der Religion*, p. 226).

stage of its development is represented by cave-temples. The most ancient temples are those in Bihar, dated fourth-second centuries B.C. and in Orissa and Gujarat, dated second century A.D. The upper arches of these big and deep caves support the columns (usually smooth). At some places the outside wall is decorated with simple reliefs portraying the figure of nude Tirthankars and the branch of the holy tree 'Bo'.

There are many cave-monasteries especially in Orissa, in the Udaygiri and Khandagiri mountains. Images of other ancient religious symbols, such as multi-headed serpents, tridents, swastika, women pouring water from the pitcher (apparently this symbol is connected with the cult of water) are also seen in those monasteries. One also comes across multi-figure compositions on friezes, portraying scenes from Jain legends.[13]

The presence of a great number of cave-temples and cave-monasteries in Jainism and Buddhism testifies to the great antiquity of traditions, adopted or probably preserved by these religions. The Aryan cults could not have been connected from time immemorial with cave-prayer-halls, owing to the climatic conditions of those places, where those cults had formed and developed. In India, caves happen to be beautiful shelters from heat and rain, and even the extremely laborious process of carving artistic caves in the rocks could not prevent them from creating those shelters.

Can this not be the reason for not coming across temple structures in the ruins of the cities of the Indus Valley? It is not possible that the prayer services were directed by monks, living in the mountains and sheltering themselves from the sun and the rains in the caves? Coming to the city, they possibly gave sermons directly in the houses of their followers, as the Jain Acharyas often do in present day India.

The Jains also erected stupas, cylindrical structures with arched tops, standing on quadratic platform. The Jain stupas are preserved on plates (beginning of our era) on which images of Jeenas were carved. Judging from these plates, one can see that the foundation of the stupas were ornamented with reliefs, columns were erected along the sides of the stupas and sculptural figures were planted.[14]

13. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p 36
14. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Jain stupas of our era were discovered in Bihar, Central India, and in the north-west (in Taxila). Cave-temples (significantly less than Buddhist because Jainism did not call upon people to have mass prayers) were erected in various regions of India, depending on the spread of Jainism. The temples in Badami and in Aikhol (District Bijapur) in the region of Khandesh, near Nasik and in other places are also well known. These temples are dated sixth-seventh centuries A.D. They were created in a great number and later on they were dressed with rich reliefs and sculptures.

Jains created monolithic ground temples, carving them in rock tracts. These temples have all the characteristics of so-called Dravidian style—stepped raisings of roofs, crowned with circular screws, abundant columns with figures and sculptures, ornamental walls, etc. Majority of Jain temples are concentrated in the south, in the region of Khasan in the state of Mysore. Shravanbelgol is the centre of Jainism in the south. Besides temple buildings which are called 'basti', here are many 'bettas' i.e. enclosed grounds, in the middle of which, carved images of Jain holies are raised. Several of these carved images reach tremendous size, as, for example, the statue of Gomateshwara (who is considered to be the son of Rishabha, the first Tirthankar), carved from a rock in 980-990 and reaching almost 20 metres are erected in the south Kanara district.

The temples of the tenth century in Central India—in Khajuraho—are also famous. Here the style of decorative carving was already taking shape.

Towards the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, the style of Jain temples fully blossomed in west India. By this time, a complex of temples on Mount Abu in the south of Rajasthan was built. These temples are famous throughout the world. They are dressed in such rich and refined carvings on marble, that no other temple elsewhere can be a match for them.

There is a famous monument in colossal relief, carved out in the fifteenth century on the surface of a rock in Gwalior. Many places in Gujarat are also famed for temples which are beautifully and lavishly ornamented. There are whole towns of temples in Kathiawar and Palitana, which, along with the temples on Mount Abu are the centres of mass pilgrimages (and also tourist centres). Erection of temple-cities is a dis-

tinctive feature of Jain art. This feature had developed in Jain art much more forcefully than in the art of Hinduism.

There are also famous temples, richly ornamented by carved images and sculptures (for example the temple built in 1840 by the head of the trade of the town, Nagar Seth in Ahmedabad, where many prosperous Jain merchants and usurers lived).

An overwhelming majority of temples are built in the name of Tirthankars but there are also temples of messengers goddesses of Tirthankars, where usually a big statue of the head goddess of the temple, small statues of the remaining 23 goddesses (or their portraits in relief) and the statue of the Tirthankar, who commands the goddess are found.

The so-called Jain tower or the Tower of Victory in Chitore is very popular. It was created in the twelfth century. The whole tower is covered with carved ornaments and several hundred figures of nude Tirthankars are portrayed on it.

The symbolical portrayals of the river Ganges and the river Jamuna in the form of beautiful women is widespread in the Indian sculpture. This has found place in the sculptural ornamentation of Jain temples as well.

One constantly comes across the portrayals of Jeenashwars in the sculpture, in reliefs, in frescoes and in miniatures. They are portrayed only in two postures, either in the posture of a nude person standing erect, or a person sitting with legs tucked in, in the posture of a yogi. The latter posture is also well-known to us from the seal of the Indus valley. There the person sits in this posture with horned headgear and surrounded by animals. This figure is usually interpreted as ancient portrayal of God Shiva.

If we juxtapose this posture which is called yoga-posture or yogasan in India, with the fact that the most ancient philosophical work of the Jains, the 'Book of Wisdom of Arhatas' ascribed to Rishabha himself was also called 'Yoga'[15] and also that this posture is the classical echelon of the posture of Tirthankars for 25 centuries (and possibly much longer) then all this brings back to our minds the thought that there is possibly ancient connection between Jainism and the Indus civilisation. It is apparent that the teaching of yoga and this posture

15. B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, plate 81a.

connected with it penetrated in the faiths of later period and Buddha and many Hindu gods were portrayed in this posture. This posture is most popular with all the ascetics and hermits in India.

All the Tirthankars are portrayed in an almost uniform manner in the Jain temples and it is possible to distinguish them practically from only special signs, usually placed on the pedestals of these sculptures and sometimes from the special colour of the portrayals. Thus,

(1) Rishabha has yellow colour, and the sign is an elephant.
(2) Ajita—yellow colour, sign, an elephant.
(3) Sambhava—yellow colour, sign, a horse.
(4) Abhinandan—sign a monkey.
(5) Sumati—yellow colour, sign a bird.
(6) Padmaprabha—red colour, sign, a lotus.
(7) Suparshva—golden colour, sign a swastika
(8) Chhandraprabha—white colour, sign, a half-moon
(9) Pushpadanta—white colour, sign, a makara.[16]
(10) Sitala—golden colour, sign, a sitala (four-petalled rosette).
(11) Sreyan—golden colour, sign, a rhinoceros (according to another tradition, an eagle).
(12) Vasupujya—red colour, sign, a buffalo.
(13) Vimala—golden colour, sign, a wild boar.
(14) Ananta—yellow colour, sign, a falcon (with Shvetambaras) or a bear (with Digambaras).
(15) Dharma—yellow colour, sign, a vajra.
(16) Shanti—yellow colour, sign, an antelope.
(17) Kunthu—yellow colour, sign, a goat.
(18) Ara—yellow colour, sign, Nandavarta (cryptogram in the centre of which swastika is portrayed, but according to another tradition his sign is fish).
(19) Malli—blue colour, sign, a jar (Digambaras consider that Malli was a woman).
(20) Munisuvrata—black colour, sign, a tortoise.

16. Mythological monster portrayed in the form of a crocodile with an upturned nose. Shvetambaras consider that crocodile is the sign of Pushpadanta and Digambaras portray a crab as his sign. (P. Thomas, *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, p. 194.)

(21) Adinath or Naminath—yellow colour, sign, a blue lotus.
(22) Nemínath or Arishtenemi—dark colour with red shade, sign, a shell.
(23) Parshva—blue colour, sign, a serpent.
(24) Mahavira or Vardhamana—golden colour, sign, a lion.[17]

It is difficult to explain the symbolism of these colours and signs at the present level of study of Jainism. The suggestion that there is a connection between these signs and totemic representations of pre-Aryan peoples of India (these representations are preserved by many peoples even to this day) appears most probable. Devatas—various Hindu gods are usually portrayed round the statues of Tirthankars, and also on their pedestals. Such statues are placed in the cave-temples and ground-temples in niches. Very big statues of Siddhas to whom people come to worship are placed on open grounds, as has already been mentioned. There is a siddachakra—the holy wheel—in every temple of Shvetambaras. This is a seven-edged plate, on which holy words are inscribed and five figures of Parameshthians i.e people in the five stages of salvation are portrayed. Often the engraving on these plates reaches artistic perfection

Jain holies were also portrayed in bronze, in the form of small statuettes, or big figures. But this branch of the art was not as strongly developed as, for example, the bronze sculpture of the Hindus or Buddhists. The portraits of Tirthankars are made from various material—gold, silver, and precious stones.

Jain paintings had remarkably developed. As is common with all Indian painting, it starts with frescoes. The frescoes in Jain temples in Sittanavasala near Tanjore (Madras) dated seventh century A.D. are much more famous than other Jain frescoes of the early medieval period.

Here, the rocky surface was at first covered with a 0.5-1 cm. layer of pounded stones, clay, cowdung and rice husks, as is the case with all the wall-paintings in India. Later, a thin layer of white gypsum was superimposed and the painting was done on the moist surface of this white gypsum.

A big picture on the ceiling of the temple in Sittanavasala

17 The list is taken from the books—F. Buchanan, *Particulars of the Jains*; P Thomas, *Epics, Myths, and Legends of India*.

is well preserved. A magic lake with blooming lotuses and with girls taking bath (apparently nymphs—apsaras) is portrayed on the ceiling. Also cows and elephants are standing and swans are swimming in the picture. This picture shows perfect skill in workmanship.

Paintings on the walls and ceilings of temples in Shravanbelgol, Kanchipuram and Tirumalai (Madras) and in a number of other places are distinguished for high workmanship and skill

Jain miniature developed mainly in the west, in Gujarat. Here are very slender multi-coloured illustrations to the Jain texts, and mainly to Kalpasutra, describing the life of Mahavir and other Tirthankars and also illustrations to Kalikacharya Katha, in which disputes of Jain monk Kalika with unjust ruler Gardabhilla are described.

There is a common feature of the manner of portrayal from which it is possible to distinguish Jain miniature of Gujarat. The artists drew human face in such a manner that three-fourths of it was visible. The eye on the distant half of the face was always drawn fully, as on the full-face portrait, but the cheek under it was not drawn at all, with the result that this eye looks as if hanging in the air.

The Gujarat school of miniature blossomed in the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries. During this period, drawings were done on paper but before this, they were done on palm leaves (such a drawing dated thirteenth century is preserved in a temple in Patan).[18]

A distinctive branch of Jain art is the making of wooden utensils for ritual purposes. The author of this book had the opportunity of seeing these articles from near. They are hollowed out and turned by hand from unbroken pieces of wood. Their sides are as the sides of porcelain cups. These tureens are of various capacities and cups and bowls are of various forms. Majority of them are painted red and the outside edge is decorated with narrow stripes of black-golden ornament.

The heads of Jain monastery community usually use such utensils for meals. The cooked food is served in big bowls

18 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

and is distributed from small bowls. Milk and water are also poured out from small bowls.

The paints are durable and such utensils serve their masters for a long time.

As regards artistic handicrafts, Jains have mainly developed jeweller's art. Many Jains are engaged in the trade of gold ornaments and jewellery ornaments and that is why the production of these ornaments is often concentrated in their hands.

CHAPTER VIII

MODERN PERIOD OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAINISM

TOWARDS the twentieth century, the south Indian part of the Jain community was numerically very small. According to the 1901 census, there were 7 Jains (6 according to the data in 1941) per ten thousand of population in Madras. In Hyderabad, it was 18 (15 in 1941) and in Mysore 25 (45 in 1941). Appro ximately the same picture was seen in northern India: in 1901 in UP and Punjab there were 18 to 20 Jains per ten thousand of population (19 and 13 in 1941). But in western India, the ratio was different. In 1901 in Ajmer-Marwar, there were 418 Jains per ten thousand of population, in Rajputana 349, in Baroda 247, in Bombay 123. Towards the middle of the twentieth century, the number of Jains in the west also decreased. According to the 1941 census, in Ajmer-Marwar there were 323 Jains per ten thousand of population, in Rajputana 247, in Baroda 164. Only in Bombay the number of Jains increased to some extent. It was 127.

In 1950-1960, an increase in the Jain community was observed. In comparison with 1951, it increased by 25.17% (according to 1961 census, Jains formed 0.46% of the population of India).

Highest increase was seen in the local groups in the eastern regions of India and in the regions intensively developed by the Indian Government recently. Though the numerical strength of these groups in absolute figures is small, in terms of percentages, their increase is quite remarkable: In Assam, it is more than 127% (in all nearly 9.5 thousand Jains), in Andhra, nearly 85% (in all 9,000 Jains), in Orissa, nearly 84% (in all 2.3 thousand Jains). In Bihar the number of Jains increased almost by 116% (in all 17.6 thousands).

In western India the increase in the community is extremely

insignificant. In Rajasthan it is in all 19.8% (total Jain population 409.5 thousand), in Gujarat 9.3% (total Jain population 409.8 thousand). In the remaining States Jains are most numerous in Maharashtra (485.7 thousand), Madhya Pradesh (248 thousand) and Mysore (174.4 thousand). In other States their number does not exceed 40-50 thousand.

Evidently, a sharp increase in the community in the abovementioned regions can be explained by the fact that the Jain bourgeoise seeks and finds a sphere for investing its capital precisely in those regions, where intensive capitalist development has started.

In their own times, the leaders of the community started taking measures to eliminate the reasons for the fall in the number of members of their community. There were two tendencies, differently interpreting these reasons and taking different measures to overcome them.

One of the tendencies can be called conservative. The representatives of this tendency argue this out by saying that the community as a whole has forgotten the ancient rules of conduct, that the standard of being exacting and strict has fallen down and that the community is having more faith in western type of education. First and foremost, they appeal to the laymen to give more of their time and energy to the teachings of canonic books. They also appeal with equal force to the monks to give more attention to expounding and propagating the canonic texts. The advocates of this tendency demand new rules of conduct, which will prohibit marriages of Jains with Hindus and will also restrict all except business connections with them. They also demand that journeys to foreign countries should not be allowed and especially Jain students should not be sent abroad for education.

Other tendency is represented by those who demand softening of caste restrictions, fusion of numerous small sects into a stronger unit, spread of education and assigning more extensive rights to women in social life.

The leading personalities of the community with affiliation to this tendency often raised the question as to how to fight against the failings of the community. They saw biggest evil in the caste system with its restricted rules regarding marriages and called upon the community to return to the ancient form

of the community, in which castes had not yet penetrated.

Instead of caste divisions they offered the suggestion to divide the community in big endogamic groups according to the linguistic regions of India. They assume that this will also ensure the strengthening of the position of the Jain community in every state since the efforts of its members to better the position of the community as a whole within the limits of a given region would be directed in more organised manner.

As far back as in the 1920's an attempt was made in Punjab. There was created an endogamous unit out of several Jain castes. It was called Bhavada.[1] The castes comprising this group have more or less equal position. That is why this new community was comparatively more stable and there are more chances of intercaste marriages in this group even now. But this could not become a rule.

Analogical groups of castes were formed in other regions of India also—in Bengal, Rajasthan and Gujarat. It is reckoned that persons converted to Hinduism and also persons who had earlier joined Arya Samaj, which did not recognise castes are returning back to the Jain community and that in general the proselytising activity can be extended under new arrangement of the community.

Positive suggestions to abolish prohibition of widow marriages are put forward in order to fight against the decrease in the numerical strength of the community. These suggestions received adequate and wide support in the south but they are not very popular amongst the northern and western Jains.

Both the chief sects formed a number of organisations on an all-India scale for strengthening their positions. Organisations of Digambaras are the All-India Digambara Jain Parishad, with its centre in Delhi, the All-India Digambara Jain Mahasabha with its centre in Delhi, and the All-India Digambara Jain Sabha with its centre in Mathura. The Shvetambara organisations are All-India Shvetambara Jain Sthanakavasi Conference with its centre in Bombay, and Shri Jain Shvetambara Terapanthi Mahasabha with its centre in Calcutta. Almost all the subsects of Shvetambaras have their all India organisations.

A number of organisations of local importance also exist.

1. Ch. Krause, *The Social Atmosphere, at Present Jainism.*

Their influence, sphere of activity and popularity is less than that of the organisations mentioned above. Thus, there are Jain youth organisations, children's aid societies and a huge number of philanthropic societies, as philanthropy is raised by Jainism to the level of one of the main religious services."

All the big organisations have branches in various states and also press-organs in English and local Indian languages.

The community as a whole manifests a tendency to review the prohibitions and restrictions and to reconstruct the pattern of life, conforming to the demands of the times. That is why the advocates of the conservative tendency press those who stand for reformatory changes.

In the conditions of capitalistic development of the country, the Jains constitute one such group of population before whom wide possibilities for investing capital unfold themselves. They therefore, are in acute need of overcoming the barrier, which interferes with their coming closer and having intercourse with other social groups. It was the Marwari Jains, who started to play an especially great role in the economic life of India towards the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century.

Many big financiers and entrepreneurs of modern India, for example Mr. Birla, come from the Jain community, mainly from osavala or osval caste and from shrimali caste (which are thus called from their place of formation—town and the surrounding district Osa or Osya and the town of Shrimali in Marwar).[2]

Important groups of Marwari-Jains live not only in all the big cities of India, but also in a number of other countries—Pakistan, Burma, various states in Africa, England and America.

The castes of Jain baniya-traders and also baniyas from other western regions constitute a medium, which has given rise to many representatives of big Indian bourgeoisie.

Mr. S. P. Jain one of the Jain industrialist, warns his community against excessive aspirations for monopolistic domination in industry. "The interests of the business world as a

2. Hasmukh D. Sankalia, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, p. 144.

whole demand that the strong industrial groups allow new people in the industrial sphere."[8]

People, similar to the author of the above lines are the spokesmen of the growing reformatory tendency in Jainism.

In the modern epoch of religious movement, sectarian traditions, aspirations to reorganise religious communities—all this is above all noticeable amongst the so-called middle classes i.e. petty and middle bourgeoisie with which the handicraftsmen often side in these movements. A part of intelligentsia, representing these same social strata also participate in these movements. It is characteristic that the ideologies of modern Jainism, as also of any other modern religion depart from the purely theological positions and strive to attach social content to the new religious movements, including in their programme quite a number of purely social demands or claims. The leading personalities of the Jain community resolved for example to award a prize of a lakh of rupees to the best writer (in 1966, this prize was awarded to Shankar Kurup from Kerala). They conduct all-India seminars on the questions of culture, sciences etc.

The movement, known as anuvrat i.e. movement for the moral revival of the society is an interesting attempt to conduct the new line in modern Jainism. which tries to unite and coordinate new social-economic conditions with the ancient religious dogmatics.

Terapanthi—the big subsect of the Shvetambaras, which consists of more than 700 shramanas (ascetics) and lakhs of laymen serve as a basis of the movement. Acharya Shri Tulsi, one of the ascetics from the family of prosperous Rajasthani Jains of Oswal caste is the initiator of this movement. He became the head of the entire subsect (9th in succession from its formation) in 1936, at the age of 21.

In the course of a number of years, he travelled on foot (as this has been prescribed for Jain monks) with a group of monks in the western and northern regions of India, giving sermons on the teaching of Terapanthi. He paid and continues to pay great attention to the spread of education among members of his subsect and especially among monks and nuns.

8. Quotations from the book *Modern Indian Bourgeoisie*, by L. I. Reisner and G. K. Shirokov, p. 67.

In March 1949, Acharya Shri Tulsi announced the beginning of the anuvrat movement and himself headed it. His thesis about antidogmatism serves the basis of his teaching. He thinks that the synthetical approach to contemporary problems is the best approach and that one must not be carried away either by ancient or by ultra-modern ideas, especially by blind imitation of the West. In his opinion the main problem confronting Man is liberation from vices.

He sees the essence of the conflict between communism and capitalism in that the accumulation of wealth in one pole gives rise to the attempts towards aggression and destruction from the other pole. He therefore appeals to resolve this conflict by reducing to the minimum grabbing operations and by restricting grabbing instincts. He calls upon the society to negotiate and peacefully resolve all internal conflicts.

However, Acharya Shri Tulsi's appeal to review the traditional approach to philanthropic activity and also to reconsider whether it is necessary to give alms to beggars was something new for Jainism, as for all the Indian religious faiths. He preaches that it was only because religion promises posthumous bliss for this help that the society could compel the rich to part with certain part of their wealth in the name of help to the poor. But the more that is given to the poor, the more will be the number of the poor in this world.

Like the leaders of the movement of Sarvodaya,[4] Acharya Shri Tulsi asserts that it is possible to satisfy human needs only by organising cooperatives and by drawing in all the members of society for joint efforts. He considers that only that nation has the right to be proud, which does not have beggars and not that which bases itself on charity to seven million.[5]

Acharya Shri Tulsi, like Shri Vinoba Bhave, the head of the Sarvodaya and Bhudan (gift of land) movement, considers that gift of land is not only an act of charity but an act of redistribution of land on the basis of justice. According to

4. Sarvodaya (literally—universal prosperity, universal well-being) is a term introduced by M. Gandhi for the first time which expresses the ideal of classless society based on the principle of non-violence—Ahimsa.

5. Muni Shri Nagaraji, *Pity and Charity in the New Pattern of Society*, p 14.

these theoretists, the slogan 'Don't accumulate rithes' undermines the very basis of poverty and leads to real freedom, equality and fraternity.

In the opinion of Acharya Shri Tulsi, in a socialist state like India it is the government which must direct social life, realise just distribution of riches and adjust a just mutual relationship between various groups in the society. This programme is a reflection characteristic of many bourgeois scholars and a part of Indian bourgeoisie, looking upon state as a public organ above classes.

All the anuvratis are supposedly subdivided in three categories: praveshak anuvrati (beginner), anuvrati and vishishta anuvrati (distinguished, perfect).

It is required of the first category that they must overcome sinful temptations surrounding their life and avoid moral degradation. It is required of the second category that they must be highly moral citizens of their country, serving as an example to all around them by their own life. It is required of this category that they must delve deep into the social problems and search for ways to their solution i.e. to be in search of a possible way for creating a society without violence and exploitation.

It is worth noting that a certain number of persons, professing other faiths—aryasamajists, sikhs, vishnuites and muslims—joined the anuvrata movement.

The anuvratis worked out he following suggestions for the moral uplift of the society, in their annual conferences and local weekly meetings:

(1) The entrepreneurs and traders must not resort to false weights and measures, must not sell in black market and must not participate in various machinations.

(2) Students must not resort to unclean methods during examinations and must not participate in disorders.

(3) Government employees must not take bribes and must not use their position as employees to harm others.

Great attention is paid to the work of students. Student organisations, such as Anuvrata Vidyarthi Parishada, or Anuvrata Samiti have been formed in a number of big cities.

Students, connected with the anuvrata movement are forbidden to participate in political struggle.

The anuvrata movement is evaluated by its participants and leaders as a movement, revolutionary in its final analysis, as it pursues as its aim a cardinal reconstruction of the society by means of a change in the cognition of its members. Anuvratis say that they accept the ideal of equality from the communist teaching but do not accept the appeal to violence. So far as capitalism is concerned, they approve of the idea of capital as an instrument of organised commerce and business but they object to its excessive accumulation and exploitation.[6] Thus they wish to hold back the proletariat from violence by re-educating the capitalists.

According to the teachings of anuvratis, humanity degrades itself because people try to acquire food and clothes by any means (non-violent as also violent). According to them, it is so because of the materialists who teach that food is the main thing. Anuvratis consider that it is necessary to suppress one's desires and aspirations to save humanity from hatred, mutual struggle (and in the final analysis from atom bomb).

They want the capitalists to 'realise' their shortcomings and cease to aspire for profit. The anuvratis persistently urge that the rich should cease defying wealth and then wealth will surely lose all its power before the people.

They consider class war as an 'unwise business' and building of a classless society, a 'fantasy' and even an 'absurdity'.[7]

In the sphere of relations with other religious communities, anuvratis appeal for tolerance and manifestation of friendly feelings.

They include in their programme also other burning problems of social life of modern India, right up to such of them as family planning, but the measures suggested by them for this reduce themselves to restrict conjugal relations or even totally abstain from them. They suggest for the struggle against prostitution 'to create such an atmosphere in the society, which would make the evil impossible' and also suggest banning of films which show 'tempting dancing women'. Anuvratis asso-

6. Muni Shri Nagarajji, *The Anuvrat Ideology*, p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

ciate themselves with the struggle against child marriages, insisting on 18 years for the male and 15 years for the female as the marriageable age. They forbid in their community late marriages (after 40-45 years).

They protest against the dowry system, describing this custom as 'the dominance of materialism in our times', although as is known, the roots of this custom are embedded in the past and they have no relation whatsoever with materialism as a philosophical system.

Censuring smoking, consumption of alcoholic drinks and meat, anuvratis profess restraint in eating and simplicity in life. They even protest against wearing silk dresses and ornaments, as this leads people away from simplicity and naturalness.

Anuvratis also urge not to be carried away by festivals (especially the 'amoral' festival of Holi) and various earthly joys. Instead, they propose that 'Day of Non-Resistance' should be observed every year, keeping away on this day from all excesses and temptations. They urge that one should fast and do some good on that day.

In regard to caste relations—one of the most burning social problems, anuvratis, following Gandhism, rise against discrimination of the untouchables.

On the whole, this movement does not have massive repercussions and is limited mainly to the members of the Terapanthi subsect.

* * *

Thus, from all the above, it follows that Jainism is one of the most ancient religions of India, enduring on its path of historical development quite a number of conflicts with other religious-philosophical systems and undergoing many changes as a result.

Adopting caste institutions in the medieval period, it ensured greater stability for itself in comparison to Buddhism, in the environments of Hindu caste society. This helped it to preserve itself up to our times.

Jains engaged and continue to engage themselves mainly in industrial and trade-usury activities. It represents from its class nature the middle and big, trading, industrial and financial bourgeoisie.

Owing to the break-up of the community in a large number of endogamic castes, a decrease in numbers is observed, but a number of reforms are carried out under the leaders of the community and wide proselytising activity goes on in those regions, where in Independent India emphasis is laid on speedy development of economics (mainly in the eastern regions of the country). This is accompanied by finance—cooperative support to the new members of the community. All this led to an increase of 25% in its members in the last 10-15 years.

In spite of the fact that Jains constitute only 0.46% of the population of modern India, they play a noticeable role in the life of the country, occupying several key positions in its economy.

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